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Tackling Poverty

Market-Based Policies to Empower the Poor

Jack Kemp

When President Bush asked me to serve as his Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, I was thrilled to have the opportunity to make HUD and its programs into models of "progressive conservatism" in action. Because free-market economics is the only real solution to relieve and eliminate poverty, I was excited by the prospect that the free enterprise approach would finally become the basis of federal policies to combat poverty and despair.

My long-standing conservative views have only been strengthened under the impact of my new practical experiences at HUD. I have visited pockets of poverty in ghettos and barrios all over America. I have seen and spoken with people living in the depths of poverty, despair, and, in some cases, hopelessness. I have met families torn apart by drugs, and have talked to elderly women living in public housing, who are prisoners in their own homes for fear of drug-pushing gangs. From East Los Angeles, to Harlem and the South Bronx, to Miami's Overtown, to Motown and Chicago, the grinding poverty and crippling despair many Americans live with highlight the unkept promises of the Great Society.

Conservatives who believe in change, reform, and progress must become the vanguard of a crusade to end the scourge of poverty as a way of life, a crusade to be regarded as a great cause: putting economic opportunity, free enterprise, jobs, homeownership, and hope within the reach of every American man, woman, and child. To do anything less than we can to give every person the opportunity to achieve his or her capacity is to deny all of society the enrichment of each person's unique talents and potential.

The agenda set by President Bush for my stewardship at HUD reaffirms our commitment to the Lincolnian roots of the Republican Party and to the self-evident truths of all mankind—a commitment to the idea that all our nation's people should have the opportunity to share in the blessings of freedom, democracy, and equality of opportunity.

It is no accident that the root word for "civilization" is "the city": urban life has generally been the fountainhead of movements for political as well as cultural development. Not only are our cities home to millions of Americans, especially minorities and recently arrived immigrants, usually very poor; the cities traditionally have been centers of educational opportunity and cultural diversity, helping those seeking social and economic opportunity to move into the mainstream of prosperity and become fully integrated into American society.

Abolish Poverty, Not HUD

The postwar era's erosion of the urban economic base weakened the cities' ability to provide these essential services to citizens most in need of them. Clearly the restoration of the economic base of our great urban centers must be a priority. The key to extending the historic national prosperity of the Reagan years into the nation's distressed inner cities lies in unlocking the greatest catalyst of economic growth and job creation —entrepreneurial capitalism. Without jobs and an equity share in the system, poor people can hardly be expected to afford decent housing. Without a steady source of income they cannot become economically self-sufficient and independent. Employment is the necessary first step out of the poverty trap and into the social and economic mainstream. All too often, unfortunately, the federal government has acted not as a stimulus to job creation but as a barrier separating would-be small business men and women from entrepreneurship and creativity.

The response by some on the left and the right to the mistaken federal barriers to enterprise as well as to the recently exposed scandals involving political favoritism at HUD (by both Democratic and Republican administrations) has been to abolish HUD. I do not agree. Poverty, not HUD, is what needs to be eliminated. To further that goal, I have proposed more than 50 sweeping recommendations to eliminate political discretion, strengthen management and financial controls, and better target programs to the poor. In addition, President Bush has announced a major new initiative called HOPE, which stands for Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere. HOPE includes at least 10 policy

Jack Kemp *is Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.*

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U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Secretary Kemp with tenants-turned-managers at Washington, D.C.'s Kenilworth-Parkside housing project. One of the most effective means of learning entrepreneurial skills is through participating in the management of the family's own home.

initiatives that together are designed to move the American dream of homeownership and economic opportunity closer to realization for those Americans who have yet to participate fully in the blessings of freedom.

Knocking Down Barriers to Enterprise

For more than 10 years I have pushed for the creation of enterprise zones in the inner cities, which would provide sizable tax incentives to unleash the entrepreneurial spirit and energies now stifled by oppressive tax rates and burdensome government regulation. We must knock down government-erected barriers between risk and reward for inner-city entrepreneurs. To start with, we need to reduce the capital gains tax nationwide and eliminate it entirely within enterprise zone boundaries, as President Bush has proposed. This tax-cut strategy will create powerful incentives for risk takers to put their energy and ideas into new ventures in distressed areas. This bold act would also unlock the precious seed capital needed to start new businesses. Those who paint the capital gains tax cut as a tax break for the wealthy—rather than what it really is, an incentive for the poor who want to work and become wealthy—are simply engaging in a reactionary political game of class envy.

We must reward rather than punish people for moving from the welfare roll to the payroll. Consider today's perverse incentives facing poor people struggling to get on the first rung of the ladder of opportunity. They face an effective marginal tax rate of over 100 percent. We populist conservatives believe human nature responds rationally to economic incentives and rewards, so we can hardly be surprised when unemployed Americans facing such disincentives to work do not snap up entry-level jobs. We should eliminate income taxes on workers' wages up to 160 or 170 percent of the poverty level.

I have no doubt that inner-city entrepreneurs would respond to opportunities that offer real financial rewards. There could be an explosion of real economic activity, and the entrepreneurial, managerial, and creative talents of urban residents now boxed into mediocrity could be unleashed and could flourish. While Congress has been gridlocked for years over enterprise zones, enterprise zone-style programs in 37 states and the District of Columbia have saved or created an estimated 180,000 jobs and spurred about $9 billion in private investment in poor areas. These state zones have worked quite well despite their lack of federal tax incentives.

New Jersey's urban enterprise zone program, for example, is stimulating private investment and job creation. According to a recent study, enterprise zones in Camden, Newark, Trenton, Jersey City, Elizabeth, Orange, and other depressed communities have created 9,193 jobs through mid-1988, $243 million in payroll, $1.8 billion in output, and $803 million in private investment in 1987 and 1988 alone. In fact, New Jersey's enterprise zone program has created so much new economic activity in the zones that the program has raised an estimated $1.90 to $5.20 of new tax revenue for every dollar of tax incentives they provided—fresh proof of the supply-side

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revenue gains from marginal rate reductions.

Some states, unfortunately, have preferred complex, capital-based tax incentives that appeal only to large corporations. Development of a strong, local business community is also important in revitalizing depressed neighborhoods. Small business owners have a direct stake in their community and strengthen the social fabric. And, small businesses are often the most innovative and responsive, producing the products and services most in demand by the community. Because most small businesses have little or no tax liability in the initial years of operation, enterprise zone incentives for small businesses should be designed to attract seed capital, improve cash flow, and enhance entrepreneurial activity.

Entrepreneurial capitalism is the key to extending the prosperity of the Reagan years into inner cities.

Skeptics should remember that similar broad-based incentives helped create over 20 million new jobs in the 1980s, two-thirds of which were produced by small businesses with 20 or fewer employees. Giving people, including inner city and rural poor people, the opportunity to succeed and make the most of their God-given talents is what the American dream is all about, and that is what enterprise zones are designed to achieve.

Ownership for All

Enterprise zones are but one powerful tool for eliminating barriers to entrepreneurship, job creation, and economic growth in the inner cities. As Stuart Butler of The Heritage Foundation points out, enterprise zones should be viewed as an economic tactic within an emerging overall strategy of stimulating creativity and empowering poor Americans. Nowhere is this strategy more evident than in the resident management and ownership movement that is sweeping public housing communities across the country.

Many liberals, it seems, believe that people who live in public housing are not capable of keeping a decent, safe home or even of caring for themselves. My plan for privatization recognizes that empowering poor people can be part of the solution. Scores of men and women living in public housing—true entrepreneurs filled with concern for their families, like Kimi Gray at Washington's Kenilworth-Parkside—began to articulate a different view from the liberals', calling for the residents, not the government, to make the decisions about managing their neighborhoods. Led by heroic women like Mildred Haley at Bromley Heath in Boston, Bertha Gilkey at Cochran Gardens in St. Louis, Chicago's Irene Johnson at LeClaire Courts, and Alicia Rodriguez of Estrada Court in East Los Angeles, public housing tenants today are retaking their housing from the drug pushers, criminals, and bullies. Growing numbers of urban homesteading families are being inspired by the possibility of managing their communities and the dream of one day owning their own homes.

Private homeownership is essential to the movement. One of the oldest lessons in history is that private property ownership is the strongest incentive to advancing people's skills and talents. It is the key as well to both maintaining property in good condition and increasing prosperity for more to share. One of the most effective means of learning entrepreneurial skills is through participating in the management of the family's own home. In fact, the word "economics" comes from a Greek word for "household management."

Anyone who doubts whether empowering the poor can turn around a public housing project should visit one. Since the start of resident management at Chicago's notorious Cabrini-Green project, a major portion of the community has been recovered from the gangs and drug dealers. And since D.C.'s Kenilworth-Parkside's resident management program began, drug abuse and teen-age pregnancies have declined, rent collections and college enrollments have risen, and over 130 former welfare recipients are now gainfully employed. Fiscal conservatives worried about the cost to the taxpayer should know that the Coopers & Lybrand accounting firm estimates that moving Kenilworth-Parkside alone to resident management will save the government $4.5 million over 10 years. Multiply that by the thousands of similar projects around the nation, and the economic benefit alone will richly repay our modest investment in resident management and ownership.

The High Cost of Red Tape

It is especially satisfying to me to help the poor realize their dream of homeownership. But, the affordable housing problem covers a broad spectrum of the market. The average new home price in September 1989 had jumped to $162,000, and in some areas the cost of new homes has risen so steeply that middle-income families are losing hope of buying their first house anytime in the near future. The affordability problem is aggravated by large down payment requirements and high mortgage interest rates. The high prices and tightening supply of new homes in turn is pushing up rents, especially in large urban centers. While all tenants suffer, many of the unemployed at the bottom of the economic ladder simply cannot afford to house their families at such rents, and become homeless.

When a market is unable to increase supply and production at reasonable cost, we should look first at the legal barriers to production and commerce. Local impact (development) fees, application processing costs, building codes, zoning and land use restrictions, and no-growth policies are greatly increasing construction costs, while rent control laws are restricting the expansion and maintenance of rental housing.

In one of the more extreme cases, Orange County, California, a Golden State Project report says that regulations, delays, and fees may almost double the price of a standard-size new home. In New Jersey, recent studies

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suggest that one-third of new home prices is attributable to regulatory restraints imposed by four or five layers of government simultaneously, resulting in expensive legal costs, skyrocketing land prices, and delays that may add years to the time it takes to complete construction.

Some estimate that every $1,000 rise in the price of housing disqualifies 300,000 middle-income families, forcing them to remain in the rental market. Since the additional cost of red tape on a new home is relatively constant, builders tend to construct more luxurious and expensive homes that appeal to wealthy buyers who can tolerate the bureaucratic add-on expenses. This results in a market gap in the middle-income range, thus increasing the demand for more rental housing.

As President Bush has said, all levels of government must reexamine some well-intended housing policies that in fact decrease our housing supply, particularly excessive regulations that unnecessarily add tens of thousands of dollars to the cost of housing or create perverse incentives that allow existing housing to deteriorate. To carry out that reexamination I will convene a Blue Ribbon Commission on Affordable Housing that will recommend ways of removing these barriers. I agree with President Bush's own recommendation that HOPE funding not be made available to any locality or state until it has identified barriers to affordable housing within its jurisdiction and taken steps to remove them.

Unfortunately, the bulk of the restraints on new home construction originate at the lower levels and cannot be reached by federal agencies directly. President Bush's HOPE initiative, however, contains a major new proposal to get at the roots of the housing affordability problem by creating 50 Housing Opportunity zones throughout the country, within enterprise zones. Housing Opportunity zones are intended to pump money into poor urban and rural areas where the housing stock is deteriorating, yet local regulatory and tax barriers are stopping rehabilitation and new construction. Cities competing to be designated a Housing Opportunity zone will be required to offer a plan to eliminate barriers to home construction and improvement. I am convinced that improvements in housing quality and affordability will result from the freer markets in the Housing Opportunity zones.

Also, HUD is attempting to ease the personal financial problems of buying a home by improving conditions in mortgage financing markets for low- and moderate-income and first-time buyers. We are looking at the tax code for ways to provide more tax incentives for homeownership, such as using IRAs to fund first-time buyers' down payments. With respect to low-income renters, I have strongly supported expansion of housing vouchers to give the poor added market power and more flexibility and choice in meeting their housing needs.

Good-Shepherd Conservatism

There are many issues outside the portfolio of programs that I manage as Secretary of HUD that need to be addressed in order to realize our goal of steady reduction of poverty.

Most important is to keep the U.S. economy growing rapidly without inflation. The Federal Reserve's priority should be to stabilize the dollar and keep interest rates as low as possible without reigniting inflation. And because I believe that guaranteeing money that is honest and stable in value is an important progressive and populist step, I support the monetary policy mandated by the Founding Fathers in the Constitution, which says that the dollar should be as good as gold.

Moreover, we now live in an age in which the world's economies have been so integrated that economic borders are meaningless. Policies that pretend to "protect" businesses and jobs by isolating trade within national borders threaten employment, prosperity, price stability, and technological innovation; they also raise the specter of Depression-era international trade wars. Open international commerce allows American consumers to share in a global market of goods and services while maximizing the demand abroad for the best products working Americans can produce. To be sure, this does not excuse us as a compassionate society from putting in place programs such as workers compensation benefits and new skills training to ease the problems of workers dislocated by global economic shifts.

Lincoln once said that he never had a moral sentiment that did not spring from the Declaration of Independence, by which he meant the statement that all human beings are created equal in their dignity and rights. I can think of no other idea so clearly consistent with progressive conservatism as the extension of equal human and civil rights to all Americans. From the Voting Rights Act of 1965, guaranteeing the franchise for black and other minority Americans, to the struggle for the right to life, to the effort to relieve the tax burden on the American family, we all must be engaged in bringing the ideal of the equal rights of the individual ever closer to real achievement.

In New Jersey, a third of the price of a new home is due to regulatory red tape.

We conservatives must demonstrate by both our words and our actions that at the center of our political and social philosophy is the idea of the good shepherd—that we want the whole globe someday to be free, prosperous, and democratic.

The body of evidence grows daily that people everywhere have pinned their hopes for their own and their families' futures on the possibility of creating free economic and political markets in their countries. The ideas of democratic capitalism have triumphed the world over, but the struggle to turn those ideas into political reality everywhere has not yet been completed. As President Bush has said, the decade of the '90s must be the decade of global democracy.

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The Life of the Party

Republicans Must Build New Coalitions to Win

Representative Newt Gingrich

The Republican Party is about to begin its 10th consecutive year in the White House, yet it has failed to gain working control of America's governments. More important, it has failed to propose real alternatives to the failed bureaucracies of the welfare state. The '90s will have to be a decade of reform if the 21st century is going to be a century of prosperity, freedom, and safety—but the GOP has yet to provide the leadership.

During the presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, America has recovered from Jimmy Carter's malaise and enjoyed the longest economic expansion in our history. More Americans are at work than ever before. Around the world, ideas of political and economic freedom are on the march. Glasnost and perestroika, the extraordinary changes in Mexico, Poland, Hungary, and East Germany—these are all the legacy of President Reagan's personal vision.

But America is still in crisis. If you look at our biggest cities, our education system, our welfare system, our skyrocketing health care costs combined with collapsing inner-city health care services, our trendlines resemble Argentina's more than they do Japan's. The improvements made since the Carter years are simply not enough. Without a reform movement of crusade-like proportions, we are not going to be able to leave our children a country capable of leading the world.

Classroom Crisis

Forty-five percent of our children in New York City drop out of school, and that doesn't count the ones who get diplomas they cannot read. You cannot have a democracy where 40 percent of college graduates don't know in what century their country's civil war was fought. How can you have public dialogue about defense policy when many of your citizens can't find France on a map?

The education crisis in America is an even greater crisis than the crisis of drugs and violent crime. It undermines our most fundamental values. Government cannot be truly representative without widespread public knowledge of the issues elected officials are debating. It is impossible to compete in the world market when many of our citizens lack basic math, science, and work skills. This is a crisis of the first order. Yet, Republicans haven't used the language of crisis; we haven't talked with a sufficient sense of urgency; we haven't held the system accountable.

Republicans have similarly failed to articulate the human costs of America's so-called poverty programs. We're not attacking a welfare system that is actively destroying human beings.

Imagine that two twins arrive as immigrants in America. One gets off the airplane and meets an American welfare worker. He gets help. He goes into public housing, and receives food stamps and all the other forms of public support. And he learns to be a welfare client. The other one isn't as "lucky." He doesn't get any help from the American government and just has to go out and get a job. He gets only minimum wage. So he has to take a job in the evening to supplement the job in the day. His family can only afford to rent a few little rooms in a run-down building. But they save some money because they don't count on help from the government. Ten years after the twins arrive, the one we have been helping will be trapped in a decaying, sick system. His children will have a pathetic future. The one we didn't help will be buying a store and a small house, filled with hope for his children.

A country that deliberately sustains a bureaucracy that destroys people is a country that is crazy. It is a country with a terrible future. And yet Republicans have not had the moral courage to say so.

Crime as an Issue

Republicans have also failed to make an issue of government's failure to protect law-abiding citizens from crime. Forty years ago in the typical American city, there were three times as many police officers per violent crime as there are today. What happened? Have city governments gotten tinier? Are there fewer employees? No. We have replaced cops with welfare workers. They can't protect you from being mugged—but somebody will hold your hand during your recovery.

NEWT GINGRICH (R-GA), *is Minority Whip of the House of Representatives. His article is adapted from a speech given in October before the Western States Republican Conference.*

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Crime is not a hard problem. We simply lock up violent criminals until they're too old to be violent. That means fewer welfare workers and more police officers and prosecutors and prisons.

Washington, D.C., has 46,000 employees, approximately the same number as the government of Switzerland. Four thousand of them are police officers. Now if we simply adopted a rule of attrition, in which half of all the vacancies for the next six years are replaced by policemen, we would probably double the number of cops in Washington—at no cost to anybody except, of course, the welfare bureaucracies.

Republicans are afraid that if they make crime a political issue they will be seen as racist. But the number one victims of crime in America today are black. I'm sick and tired of being told that the effort to protect an innocent black woman or an innocent black child is by definition racist, because somehow Willie Horton will feel bad. A government that fails to protect all its citizens—black and white—is one that has its priorities all wrong.

Antitrust for the Public Sector

Every successful corporation in the world market is restructuring itself to meet the challenges and opportunities of technology. The only systems in America that are not being restructured are in government.

In every aspect of the public sector, life has gone downhill. Public housing is worse than it used to be. Schools are worse. Protection by the police is worse. Health care is worse. The reason is these are all public monopolies. And monopolies decay—because monopolies don't serve the customer; monopolies serve only the people in the monopolies.

Consider what happened in Wisconsin recently when Governor Tommy Thompson offered a dramatic reform program to allow the poorest parents in the poorest school district in inner-city Milwaukee the choice of sending their children to any school. The teachers' union representative said, "This is not an education issue. This is a jobs issue." That comment explains why America needs a reform crusade. What matters to the people running our cities isn't the children. It isn't the future. It is the structure of the bureaucracy and whether its Democratic and union allies are taken care of.

Nabobs of Negativism

There are three reasons Republicans have had such a hard time proposing alternatives to the unionized bureaucracies strangling our cities.

First, our conservatism historically has been an opposition and anti-government conservatism. Now we conservatives have had the White House for nine years. It's no longer enough to fight against Lyndon Johnson, against the Great Society, against Jimmy Carter. The country agrees with us. Americans say in overwhelming numbers, "Yeah, those other guys are dumb. So what are you Republicans going to do?"

Our challenge is to make the difficult transition from an opposition conservatism to a governing conservatism, from advocating anti-left-wing government to advocating conservative government. Yet, we have not had a serious

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If we care whether an eight-year-old girl in the ghetto says the Pledge of Allegiance, then we have to care about the rest of her day and the rest of her life.

Republican effort to think through the definition of conservative government since Theodore Roosevelt.

It isn't good enough just to criticize New York City and walk off. What is our model of New York City? What is our model of Chicago? What is our model of Denver?

Our second problem is that Republicans really don't know enough about America. We've never thought much about how to improve life for people who have never been our constituents. That just isn't consistent with our principles. If we care whether an eight-year-old girl in the ghetto says the Pledge of Allegiance, then we have to care about the rest of her day and the rest of her life. We have to show all Americans how conservative principles can help improve their lives. We have to be able to explain how our program makes Americans better off in buying a house, how their child might get a better education, how they might enjoy a better retirement—and how this matters enough for them to vote Republican.

To do all this, we first have to listen to the people we're going to help. We need to walk into the local precinct, knock on the door, visit the church, drop into the local coffee shop. The goal is to find out what people want, and what they'll vote for, and then apply conservative principles to help them get what they want.

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Bubble-Up Republicanism

The third Republican problem is an intellectual mistake: we have expected our political leadership always to come from the president. Having controlled the White House now for 17 of 21 years, we should know by now the limitations of this dependence.

The president has to make the system work every day. He can't take the kind of radical gambles that an opposition party can take. The president has to act cautiously and deliberately. That shouldn't prevent the rest of us, with George Bush's blessing, from inventing an absolute explosion of reform ideas, trying them out at the county and school board and city and state levels, throwing them into the legislative hopper and letting them ferment, so that a thousand reform proposals bubble up. The president can then pick the ones that make sense after two or three years of debate. He can then include them in the State of the Union speech because we've done all the work. We've cleared the field. We've planted the crop. The president can come along and gracefully help us with the harvest of good ideas, but first the rest of us have to lay the groundwork.

Crime is not a hard problem. We simply lock up violent criminals until they're too old to be violent. That means fewer welfare workers and more police officers and prosecutors and prisons.

Grand Young Party

By addressing these three weaknesses—by moving from an opposition to a governing conservatism; by listening and reaching out to Americans we've never paid much attention to; and by planting our reform ideas in city halls and county seats and statehouses across the country—Republicans can build a center-right majority coalition at all levels of government.

For the first time in recent history, Republicans are now the party of the young. According to the latest big study, the breakout of party identification for people under 30 is 52 percent Republican, 38 percent Democrat. The problem is that the young don't vote as much as older people, and we as a party are used to organizing adults over 45.

As Republicans plan for 1990, if we don't have activist groups in every high school, every vocational school, and every college, we are not going where the ducks are. Every Republican campaign in this country should start each morning by asking how it is mobilizing the young. If we don't try to triple the younger turnout in 1990, we're just plain dumb.

It's also important to remember that the real election results of 1988, measured as a percentage of all adults, were 23 percent for Dukakis, 27 percent for Bush, and 50 percent, "who cares?" The biggest opportunities for Republican growth come not from getting Dukakis down to 22 percent, but from bringing into politics the 50 percent who don't care. This is the lesson of the Roosevelt landslide of 1936. Alf Landon brought in a million more voters than Herbert Hoover in 1932. FDR brought in seven million more. The GOP goal for 1992 should be to increase turnout 15 percentage points. If George Bush won 37 percent, and the Democrat won 28 percent, we would have a real revolution.

The Chicago 17,000

In most election contests, the Republican Party is still like a medium-sized college football team going to the Super Bowl. The Democratic coalition consists of the party, the big-city machines, the labor unions, the left-wing activist groups, and the alliances with the news media and with academics on college campuses. They have both a bench and training skills that we can't even begin to play against.

Against this phalanx, our biggest opportunity is to reach out and inform and inspire and arouse American people who aren't involved in politics at all. If we help them learn the game of politics, and show how our principles can make a difference in their lives, we can create a movement three times the size of the current Republican Party.

That means we're going to give up a lot of control, and a lot of strangers are going to show up. You bring millions of new people in, with all their new energy and new resources, and you are in a different game. It's going to be a little scary. If we succeed in reaching out to more Americans, we're going to have a lot of fights among ourselves. We'll have to learn to live with, even to relish, the internal conflict that goes with being part of a majority coalition.

But just consider the potential. Seventeen thousand people ran for school board seats in Chicago this fall, because for the very first time they broke down the decentralized bureaucracy and created individual school boards. If we saw those 17,000 people not as Democrats or Republicans, but as parents and citizens who for the first time were active in politics, we would have gone in there and said, "We want to be your allies in running for office. We want to help you take back control of your schools so your children can have better learning." Out of those 17,000 we might have 10,000 friends, and we would have learned a lot about a Chicago we don't know very well.

Similar opportunities exist in communities across the land. Republicans cannot wait for George Bush or Lee Atwater to make their party the friend and ally of the American people. That alliance has to begin at the local level, listening to local citizens and providing them with conservative reform ideas that will better their lives. ☎

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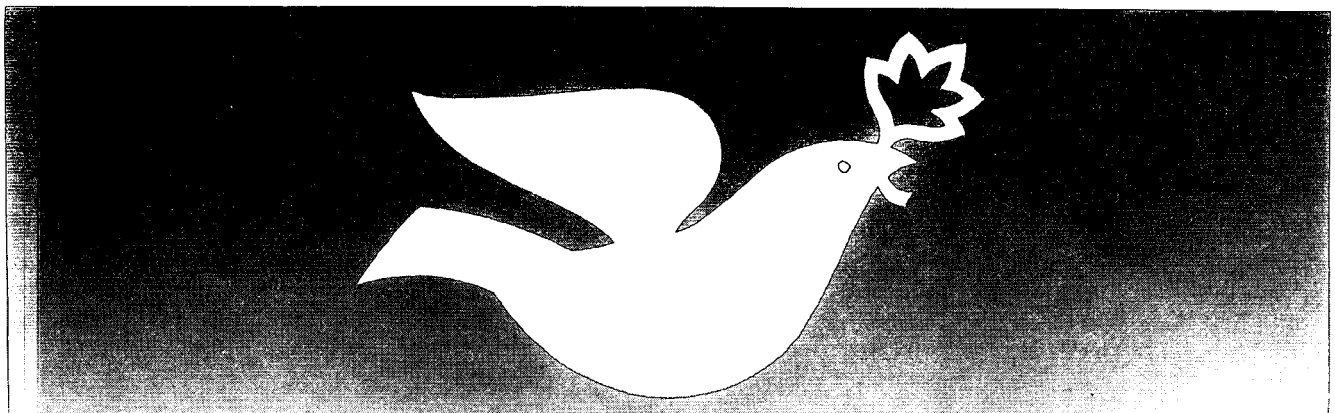

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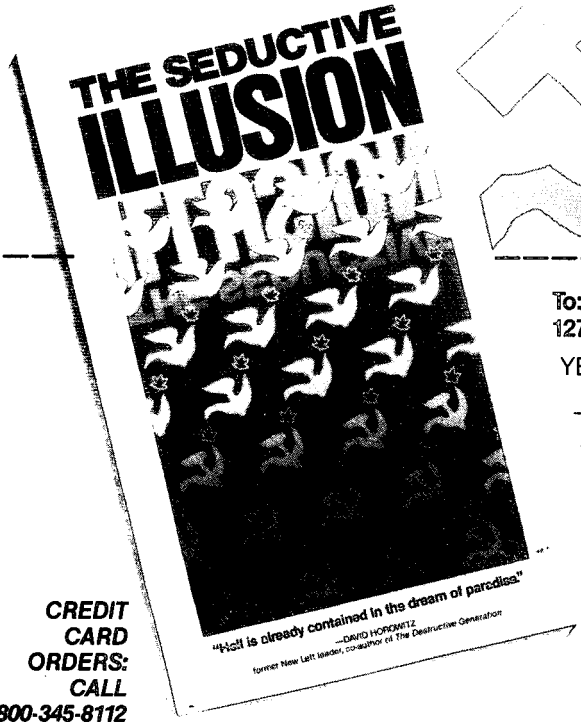
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Cut the Crack

The Policymaker's Guide to Cocaine Treatment

Richard A. Rawson

It is not impossible to get off cocaine—either in its powder form, or in its potent, crystalline form, crack. Cocaine addiction is in many ways easier to overcome than alcoholism or heroin addiction, or even nicotine addiction. Some early studies have indicated that with treatment, about 70 percent of middle-class users maintain lives of sobriety; the success rate with very poor, inner-city users is much lower but not completely discouraging—about 20 to 30 percent. Once you control for demographic variables, the success rates of treatment are about the same for crack. There is no reason for the public and policymakers to despair about the prospects of successful treatment.

During the 1970s, leading researchers, clinicians, and policymakers, including the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) and Peter Bourne, President Carter's health and drug abuse policy advisor, were saying that cocaine was a relatively harmless recreational drug. We know now that the drug is physically as well as psychologically addictive, with the physical changes the drug causes affecting parts of the brain that regulate moods. But there are no physical withdrawal symptoms from cocaine. If an alcoholic is suddenly cut off from his liquor supply, he will suffer painful withdrawal—he may even have seizures and could die. Alcoholics need to be under medical supervision during detoxification. But for the cocaine user, it is possible to withdraw without medication. He will feel irritable, he will want to sleep all the time, he will be depressed. But rarely is he in physical danger.

We don't really know how many cocaine abusers there are in the U.S. today—estimates range from three to four million. About 40 percent of them are crack users. Approximately one-quarter of these addicts will be able to stop using the drug on their own, with the help of family, clergy, or self-help groups such as Alcoholics or Cocaine Anonymous. Another quarter of these cocaine abusers won't be able to get off the drug no matter what treatment they receive. These hard-core abusers may be mentally ill, are often heavily involved in criminal activity, and generally suffer severe societal problems such as chronic unemployment. The remaining half of those addicted to cocaine can benefit from treatment.

We have learned much in the past decade about what works and what doesn't work in treating cocaine addiction. One of the most important components of successful treatment is the tailoring of the program to match the needs of the patient as he goes through the stages of recovery.

Five Stages of Recovery

The cocaine addict will travel through five stages on his way to sobriety. The first stage, withdrawal, is fairly short—only about two weeks, or, in some cases, just a couple of days. The patient feels very irritable, anxious, depressed; he has difficulty concentrating and craves cocaine; he will often sleep excessively.

The second stage we call the honeymoon. Between the third and seventh weeks of abstinence, the patient begins to feel on top of the world; his energy level is high and he begins to feel he is "cured." This euphoric period is followed by a stage that I call "the wall." The wall, which lasts about two months and generally occurs between days 46 and 120 post-cocaine, is the major hurdle in recovery. The patient cannot concentrate, he is depressed and anxious, feels very tired, cannot sleep, and loses interest in sex. Overall, the period is characterized by anhedonia, the inability to feel pleasure. The patient often begins to feel as if things are never going to get better. He thinks, if this is what it feels like to be off coke, why bother. The cocaine cravings return and the patient is very vulnerable to relapse.

Adjustment, the fourth stage, begins about four months after quitting cocaine. The patient's depression and anxiety ease. Life begins to return to normal and the frequency of craving subsides. The patient often feels a big sense of accomplishment at having gotten over the wall. However, he still has problems with boredom and loneliness and is likely to return to high-risk behaviors such as drinking. The fifth stage, resolution, begins after six months. The recovering addict learns how to main-

Richard A. Rawson *is director of the Matrix Center, a private drug abuse treatment clinic in Beverly Hills, California. Matrix has treated over 1,800 cocaine patients from all socioeconomic groups since 1983.*

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tain a balanced life-style and develops new areas of interest. Occasionally during this period new excessive behaviors such as overeating, compulsive gambling, or workaholism may become problematic.

Inpatient or Outpatient?

There are three basic external structures for treatment. In inpatient treatment the client is admitted into a hospital and kept under medical supervision. These are the most well-known and costly programs, typically lasting 28 days followed by some form of "aftercare." Inpatient programs are usually based on the Hazelden, 12-Step, or alcoholic model, which teaches patients that they have a progressive disease and that they, like diabetics, are responsible for treating the disease. Families are often involved in the education process. At $5,000 to $20,000 a program, inpatient treatment is generally available only to the wealthy or clients whose insurance covers such programs.

Another structure for treatment is the therapeutic community. Therapeutic communities, or TCs, provide treatment in a residential setting where the patient lives for an extended time, sometimes as long as one to two years, and learns to rebuild his life. Counselors in the TC typically are addicts who have graduated from the program. TCs emphasize peer confrontation and denial busting—they try to make the patient "honest" and to force him to be responsible. Clients are assigned certain responsibilities for the whole house and the program is rigidly hierarchical. Patients earn privileges and new freedoms with responsible behavior, or lose them if they slip up. Two of the most famous TCs are Phoenix House in New York and California and Daytop Village in New York. TCs can be very helpful for patients whose lives have been virtually destroyed by drug addiction—people who have absolutely no job skills and no family support—but for most addicts, they aren't appropriate.

For most addicts, outpatient treatment works best. Not only is it less expensive (generally from $1,500 to $6,000 for comprehensive programs), it also allows the patient to remain in his current environment during treatment and avoid the "revolving-door" phenomenon of inpatient treatment. Typically, the patient visits the outpatient clinic for individual counseling and group therapy—usually every day in the first weeks and at least several times per week for six months thereafter.

Except for cases in which there is some other sort of medical condition such as pregnancy, severe mental illness, heart condition, or diabetes, outpatient treatment is preferable to inpatient programs. Another exception is the hard-core crack user who has been on a binge in the streets for a long time. In that case, I would put the person in the hospital for three to five days. Until this kind of patient has had several days' respite from cocaine, and received some nutritious food and sleep, he or she just isn't going to be coherent enough even to hear the therapist.

For the most part, though, inpatient treatment is excessively expensive and often unnecessary for recovery. Recovery is a life-time process, not a one-month aberration. Outpatient treatment is less disruptive of the patient's life and allows the patient to come to grips with his drug problem in the environment in which he developed it. Even more important, outpatient treatment is better equipped to handle that very difficult phase of recovery—the wall. Inpatient programs have very high retention rates during the 28-day inpatient part of their care, but a very high rate of attrition for their aftercare components. As I noted before, the patient usually feels very well between weeks three and seven. The inpatient client is still in the honeymoon stage when he is discharged from the hospital—he feels great, he thinks he's got his addiction licked. So, he is totally unprepared, totally demoralized, when he hits the wall a couple of weeks after he gets out of the hospital. Relapses are common.

Outpatient treatment is better suited to addressing the problems of drug abuse because it provides the very valuable commodity of time. The brain needs time to heal, to return to normal function. Outpatient treatment takes place over a much longer period than does in-patient treatment. A recent report from Robert L. Hubbard, *et al.*, published by the University of North Carolina Press, has shown that for treating any kind of substance abuse the longer the treatment format the better the success rates. In fact, programs that do not last at least three months showed no long-term effect on lowering drug abuse.

The most effective antidote for cocaine addiction is to treat the drug-taking behavior itself rather than giving medication or treating the underlying causes of the drug abuse.

No Panaceas at the Pharmacy

There are some promising drugs now being used to treat cocaine addiction, but there are no panaceas. Many people mistakenly think that if we could just find a drug that would block the effects of the cocaine, then we would have a "cure." Such a drug might provide some short-term value, but it would be only one component of a long-term recovery plan. We now have drugs that block the effects of heroin (naltrexone) and alcohol (Antabuse), but they are used fewer than 10 percent of the time. Even when they are appropriate, it is very difficult to get patients to use them. What is most needed is a drug that suppresses the intense cocaine cravings, but I am not optimistic about finding such a medication anytime soon.

What does work in some cases are antidepressants to

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help relieve some of the feelings of anhedonia during the withdrawal and the wall phases. Often, what causes the relapse is not so much the craving for the drug, but the prolonged, unrelieved sense of emptiness during the wall that makes the high of cocaine compelling in comparison. We prescribe drugs only to create a "window of opportunity," relieving the anhedonia a bit so the therapist can get through to the patient. It is not the drug that causes the abstinence but the changed behaviors that result from therapy.

I am director of the Matrix Center, a drug addiction treatment organization with four outpatient offices, including one in Beverly Hills. We prescribe medication only about 20 percent of the time, only for those cases where the addiction is so severe that the patient cannot stay sober even for a day or two, or when the patient can stay sober longer but has a history of relapse. We never start treatment with drugs, but wait to see how well the patient is responding to the counseling.

There is much to learn about different medical treatments for cocaine addiction, but a few drugs show promise, particularly the antidepressants desipramine and imipramine. Frank Gawin at Yale University recently completed a test of desipramine that showed prolonged abstinence from cocaine and a reduction in craving. However, the test results only measured abstinence at eight weeks, and it is still too soon to tell the long-term effects of the drug. Desipramine, which works to counteract cocaine abuse's depletion of several neurotransmitters, including dopamine and norepinephrine, must be taken for a couple of weeks before it begins to have an effect. Gawin has found that low levels of the drug seem to be more effective than high levels.

Another promising drug that has an earlier onset than desipramine is bromocriptine, which is traditionally used to treat Parkinson's disease, a neurological disorder. This drug helps replenish the dopamine depleted by cocaine abuse. The neurotransmitter dopamine has a powerful effect on mood—its depletion leads to the profound depression and irritability characteristic of coming down from the cocaine high. Mark Gold of Fair Oaks Hospital in Summit, New Jersey, has been working with bromocriptine, and is reporting some success with greatly reduced craving, but the drug still needs to be tested further. Bromocriptine works faster than desipramine but its effects wear off much sooner—within three weeks. I will be conducting a study this year of both bromocrip-

Down and Outpatient in Beverly Hills

The Matrix Center, where I am director, was established in 1983 in Southern California to develop a treatment model for cocaine users. We have drawn upon what we have found works in the course of treating over 1,800 cocaine patients to create a comprehensive program. We use an outpatient format that concentrates on changing behaviors rather than finding the root causes of the addiction. We prescribe drugs for some patients. The key to our success is that we have carefully timed our treatment strategy to the different stages of recovery and our approach is comprehensive. Basically, we address four specific areas of the patient's life that are affected during treatment: behavioral, emotional, cognitive, and relationships.

The Matrix Center framework insists that clients 1) cease drug use, 2) remain in treatment for a year on an outpatient basis, 3) learn about addiction and relapse, 4) undergo coaching by a trained therapist, 5) have their family members receive education about addiction and recovery, 6) learn about self-support groups such as AA, and 7) receive monitoring through urine testing. Our goal is to eliminate drug use and maximize education, while still retaining the largest number of clients. That last part is not so easy—retention rates for drug treatment programs are often less than desirable.

The first six months of our program are quite intensive—each week during the first month the client comes in for three group meetings (educational, stabilization, and AA group meetings), three individual sessions, and one urine test. He also attends two conjoint sessions with family members in the first month. The family comes for two group sessions a week and the conjoint session every other week.

Months two and three are the same except that there is one fewer weekly individual session and only one conjoint session a month. Months four through six include the weekly AA meetings and relapse prevention groups, two individual sessions and a urine test a week, and one conjoint session. This very comprehensive and intense six-month period is followed by what we call Phase II, in which the client attends a weekly group. We also provide individual and couples counseling upon request and urine testing if needed.

The Matrix Center provides a three-month program of weekly educational groups that both clients and their families attend. In a classroom setting we include such topics as the biology of addiction, conditioning during addiction, deleterious medical effects of cocaine on the heart, lungs, and brain, and how relationships are affected by addiction.

Our program is fairly expensive by outpatient standards—$4,500 for patients whose health insurance covers treatment or who can easily afford it—but it is quite comprehensive, and our counselors have at least a master's degree in mental health. Some clinics rely more on recovering addicts who do not have higher degrees as counselors. In one of our offices, we do have a sliding fee scale—for people at the bottom of that scale, treatment is only $25 a month.

—RAR

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tine and desipramine in treating cocaine and methamphetamine users. So far, the evidence suggests that bromocriptine works best for the fairly short withdrawal stage and desipramine may be most effective during the wall phase, which lasts for a couple of months.

Amantadine, which is often given under the brand name Symmetrel, also works to replenish dopamine, but is not nearly as effective as either desipramine or bromocriptine. Buprenorphine, a pain reliever often used in Great Britain, is also being tested in the treatment of cocaine addiction, but studies are just beginning.

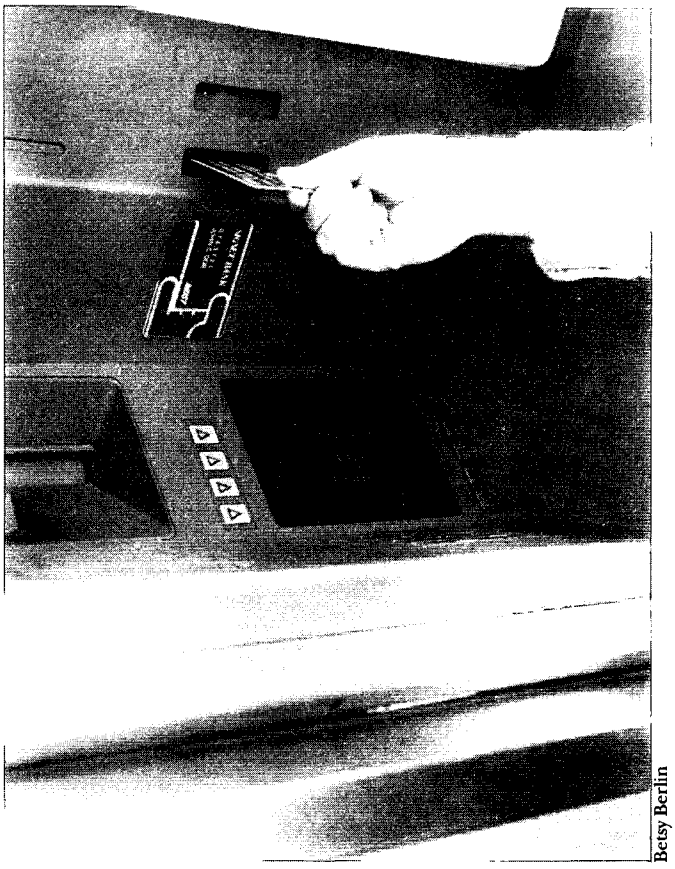
"My God, You're an Addict!"

We have found at my clinic that the most effective antidote for cocaine addiction is to treat the drug-taking behavior itself rather than giving medication or treating the underlying causes of the drug abuse. To put it another way, we have a neurobehavioral approach rather than a psychotherapeutic approach.

Unlike other programs, especially those fashioned on the Alcoholics Anonymous model, we do not try to force patients to admit they are addicts before they can begin treatment. We are most concerned with encouraging people to get into and to stay with the program, and admitting right off the bat that they are an addict, for this group of users where denial is particularly prevalent, is too high a hurdle for most cocaine addicts to get over at the beginning. So when the patient first expresses an interest in our program, whether because he himself is concerned he has a problem or because his or her spouse or employer pressured him into it, we don't clobber him with "My God, you're an addict!" We try to get him into the program and gradually shape his attitudes with constant reinforcement until he is willing to accept the truth of his addiction.

Instead of spending precious counseling time asking the patient why he is addicted to cocaine, we prefer to start coaching him immediately on how to stop using it. These people arrive in our program completely out of control of their lives. They come to us to regain control. One of the most important things we do is to help the patient schedule all of his time. This is crucial—especially for the weekend and after work or other periods of typical high usage. If need be, we help him discover new activities to participate in—anything from basketball to photography. We try to get the patient involved in community or club activities. The typical patient will schedule work, gym class, dinner, group therapy sessions, church, everything, down to the last hour. It is difficult to treat the really down and out patient, not so much because he is "more addicted" to the drug, but because he is typically unemployed and has a much larger expanse of unscheduled time.

Education on how cocaine affects the brain and body and what to expect during the treatment process is also crucial. For some users information about AIDS risks and the deleterious effects of cocaine on the heart and lungs can have an impact. Especially helpful for the patient is information about the different stages of treatment, and particularly what to expect with the wall. More so than with other drug addicts, cocaine abusers really seem to find simple education about the drug very useful—just knowing what to expect and what exactly is happening to them reassures them and helps prevent relapse. But the information must be presented in a straightforward, nonsensational way.



Betsy Berlin

Cravings can be triggered by a miniskirt, a song on the radio, or even an automatic teller machine.

"Cocaine Is Not My Friend"

We teach patients certain interpersonal skills. We coach them on what to do if they get in a danger situation such as a social setting where cocaine is being used. We will practice certain scenarios with them and let them practice saying no to offers of cocaine. Because the six months of treatment they first commit to can seem interminable, we have the patient break the time down and visualize his progress with a technique called calendars and dots. The patient crosses off each calendar day that he stays abstinent with a marker color-coded for the total time off—red for month one, yellow for month two, blue for months three and four, and green for months five and six. If he has a relapse, he begins over.

The patient also puts reminders around the house that can be seen daily, which say things like: "Cocaine is not my friend; it makes me feel worse—not better." "I will never recapture the feeling of that first rush." "The longer I wait to stop, the more of my life I will waste." "I can never use again—not even a little." "Stopping will make me feel anxious, depressed, lonely, and confused for a while. Then it will stop. I won't feel bad forever."

One thing that we really have to drill into our patients is the need for abstinence from other drugs—including marijuana and alcohol. There is the danger that the

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addict may begin to replace his cocaine addiction by addiction to one of these substances—and without counseling, there often is an increase in abuse of marijuana and alcohol. But, even more dangerous are the disinhibiting effects of these drugs. It is much harder to resist cocaine, just as it is much harder to resist other temptations, when intoxicated. Also, many cocaine users habitually took these drugs at the same time they used cocaine. So smoking pot and drinking can act as conditioned cues, causing intense craving for cocaine. Drinking makes the addict eight times more likely to relapse; and marijuana use, three times more likely. However, though you can tell the patient all you want that he has to stay away from booze and pot, he won't really believe you until he's done a little "field research." Once he's gotten drunk a couple of times and had a relapse to cocaine use, he'll begin to believe you.

The cocaine addict who goes cold turkey will feel irritable and depressed. But unlike the alcoholic suddenly cut off from his liquor, he is rarely in physical danger.

One topic that must be covered in therapy is sex and cocaine. For many addicts the two are inextricably linked. Cocaine has a reputation as an aphrodisiac, and in the first stages of use, cocaine can intensify sexual pleasure. But over time cocaine actually causes sexual difficulties and the addict finds himself engaging in increasingly bizarre activities in order to achieve orgasm. Many addicts are hypersexual and indiscriminate in their partner selection. We sometimes have to help the patient overcome the feelings of shame and guilt he or she experiences over this behavior, as well as deal with fears about contracting AIDS. We also may have to counsel them on how to have a fulfilling, "normal" sex life. For men especially there seems to be a real link between sex and cocaine. In fact, seeing sexually explicit material or even a woman who is dressed provocatively can cause a craving for cocaine.

Coping with Cravings

Learning how to deal with cravings is an important component to the neurobehavioral approach. The cocaine addict will experience intense cravings for the drug from time to time. Cravings are worst during the withdrawal and the wall phases, but can occur anytime, even months after abstinence. The craving is usually fairly short-lived—lasting no more than a couple of hours—but intense. The addict who finds himself in a setting where cocaine is easily available while he is experiencing the craving will not be able to resist using it. Unlike the alcoholic, who can learn to drink ginger ale at a cocktail party, cocaine addicts cannot be around others who are using the drug.

Cravings are caused by external cues such as large amounts of money, mirrors, white powder, a song on the radio that reminds them of past drug use, even the time of day. For some patients, even seeing an automatic teller machine can elicit strong cravings. We have our patients destroy all drug paraphernalia, drug caches, and dealer numbers they may have, as well as get rid of any alcohol they may have in the house. They may find that they have to discontinue their bank machine cards, to make it harder for them to get the cash needed for an impulse drug buy. Cravings can also be caused by mood—an exceptionally euphoric mood can be just as dangerous as a depressed mood, especially when cocaine has habitually been used as an award or a special treat, such as for winning a big account.

Once the patient finds himself in a craving situation, he can subvert the chain of thinking that leads to ultimate drug use. We teach him a technique we call thought stopping. For example, the client may be driving in his car on Friday, payday (a very vulnerable time), when he hears a song on the radio that he often listened to during his coke-using days. Next he notices his thoughts wandering to what it was like when he was using. Once he realizes that he has started into a craving chain of thought, he can actually subvert it by visualizing a switch in his head and imagining moving the switch from ON to OFF, then replacing this image with some positive, captivating thought. If necessary, he may move away from his current locale to a "safe" environment that would have no cues. Some patients find that the following technique works better. The patient wears a rubber band around his wrist. Whenever he becomes aware that he is thinking about cocaine, he snaps the rubber band and says out loud, "No!" And then he consciously turns his thoughts to another pre-determined subject. Feelings of hollowness, heaviness, and cramping in the stomach, which are physical indications of cravings, can often be relieved by deep breathing exercises.

With crack users it is not so simple to intervene in the craving thought process. There is very little forewarning of craving for the crack addict. He gets an external cue, and wham, he is hit with a full-blown craving. So we teach crack users to absolutely avoid danger situations: don't carry much cash, don't go to bars. One thing that we found with our crack users is how hard it is to break the conditioned response to external clues. When we first started treating crack patients, we would show them educational films on the detrimental health effects of cocaine use after they had been abstinent for about six weeks. Unfortunately, all of the positive aspects of the education were completely overridden by the intense cravings the films produced in our crack users. Many of our patients reported leaving this session feeling very positive about treatment and their ability to resist crack, but then within 24 hours being inexplicably drawn into a relapse. Needless to say, we no longer show these films at this stage of recovery.

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Group Therapy

Another crucial component to successful treatment for cocaine addiction is group therapy. But for this sort of program to work, the patient must feel that he is among his peers—not only in their shared addiction to drugs, but also in broad socioeconomic terms. It is okay to mix people who have different addictions—there is no reason not to mix alcoholics and heroin users into a group including cocaine addicts (and it is important to remember that many addicts abuse more than one drug), and to mix people of different backgrounds. However, you will probably want to have separate groups that deal with the special problems and temptations of cocaine addiction. While there is a certain truth to the maxim in treatment circles that "an addiction, is an addiction, is an addiction," cocaine and other stimulant users will have some differences from alcohol, heroin, and other sedative users.

What you do not want to do is put an investment banker into a group primarily composed of crack addicts from the street or one unemployed street user with a bunch of lawyers, or one woman in with a group of men, or one black with a group of whites. For the person who feels outside the group, the therapy is completely wasted and may even be harmful. While we do not consciously try to "homogenize" our groups at Matrix, we have found that the group works best if the patient feels he is among peers. During the second phase of our treatment, which begins after six months, we do divide our groups by gender. During this resolution phase, men tend to be more concerned with career adjustments and life-style changes. Women focus on issues such as relationships, sexual abuse, and self-esteem.

Our main group therapy experience is the weekly relapse prevention program that takes place after the first month until month six. These 20 sessions are led by both a professional therapist and a recovering co-leader. Unlike traditional therapy groups, the relapse prevention groups are not confrontational, nor do they try to elicit emotional material. Rather, they concentrate on positive aspects of recovery and are strongly educational. The leaders present a prescribed topic, but the meetings are interactional and members are encouraged to join in the discussion. Some of the topics covered during this time are: sexual aspects of recovery, developing a balanced life-style, dealing with holidays, dealing with fatigue, monitoring truthfulness, recognizing cocaine dreams as a relapse signal. We spend two sessions countering "relapse justification," in which the cocaine user begins to rationalize using the drug again.

But before the patient gets involved in the main group, he spends the first four weeks of the program in stabilization group meetings on Friday nights. We concentrate on how to stay sober through the weekend: scheduling time, how to deal with triggers, why the patient needs to stay away from alcohol and other drugs, and learning new leisure activities. This small (usually no more than eight members) and very directed group also provides a non-threatening introduction to group treatment situations. However, we try to discourage group members from socializing outside of sessions. Patients who have been abstinent for fewer than six months are still very volatile and the danger of relapse is greater when the newly abstinent spend time together. We instead encourage friendships with non-drug-users.

Individual Counseling

Even more important in our program than group therapy is individual counseling to target and address specific needs. In fact, this is the primary treatment for clients in our program. We train our counselors to function as both teacher and coach. The therapist fosters a positive, healthy relationship with the patient and uses the relationship to motivate and reinforce positive behavior changes. The relationship is direct and interactional, but not confrontational or parental.

The main component of the Matrix Center program is the 45-minute individual therapy session in which the therapist coaches the patient on changing his behavior. The patient attends 52 individual sessions in the first six months and develops a strong relationship with the therapist. We have a schedule of information to be given and exercises to be completed each session, but there is some flexibility for dealing with other topics. We have structured the sessions to deal with topics most relevant to the patient according to his stage in the recovery, such as rating withdrawal symptoms and learning time scheduling for the patient who is in withdrawal, reviewing exercise and nutrition habits and dealing with the wall during the wall phase, and learning how to deal with emotions and integrate new skills into life-style changes for the patient in the resolution phase.

There is no cookie-cutter therapy program for all addicts—some may need more help with scheduling time, others may need some help with getting over denial. Also, cocaine users tend to be more narcissistic than other types of drug users. Many counselors describe their cocaine-abusing clients as brighter, more egocentric, more demanding, more creative. They often have very large egos and a sense of specialness; they tend to think of their cocaine abuse as special. Most hospital-based programs, which use the 12-Step approach, try to break down the egocentricity and arrogance, to shatter whatever protective defense the grandiosity provides, to counter the denial, to force the patient to "get real." We don't. Rather, our priority is to make their decision to enter treatment as palatable as possible. We hope to address these issues gradually over time. For many of our upper economic bracket patients, our Beverly Hills location can be a drawing point to help get them into treatment. We actually have other patients who come to

Drinking makes the cocaine addict eight times more likely to relapse; and marijuana use, three times more likely.

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U.S. Traffic Safety Commission

The recovering addict is most vulnerable when he hits "the wall" between 46 and 120 days post-cocaine.

us because they want to see what a "Beverly Hills" office is like. We don't try to fix the narcissism—a patient can get off cocaine and still be arrogant and demanding, just as the narcissistic person can become less egocentric and still be hooked on cocaine. We are not trying to create perfect people. We are only trying to get them off the drugs.

Preventing Relapse

Without a doubt, relapse prevention is the most important aspect of cocaine addiction treatment. It is a fact of life that most cocaine addicts will have one or more slips before they go on to total abstinence. But this phenomenon is nothing to despair over. In fact, relapses, while certainly not recommended, can even be a part of recovery. What should be despaired over are programs that do not prepare the patient to avoid relapses and how to get back to recovery if he should have one. Many programs will lose a patient after his first slip back to drug use—he is so overcome with feelings of guilt, shame, and helplessness that he gives up, never returning to treatment.

We view relapse not as a failure but simply as an indication that the patient's behavior and the treatment need to be modified. It is a starting point for change. We find it vital to begin relapse prevention training from the very first day of treatment.

Relapse is a very gradual process. It does not happen without warning or very quickly, although it can be so subtle that it certainly feels that way to the patient. We liken this gradual movement away from sobriety to a ship slowly drifting away from its moorings. In the course of treatment each patient identifies certain behaviors, or "moorings lines," that he knows work for him to maintain a drug-free life-style. The patient fills out a moorings line chart that lists things such as daily exercise, avoiding certain people or places, attending self-help groups, and eating right. Then the patient checks the list weekly. During the wall phase he checks it daily. If he finds that he cannot check off two or more items, then the drift toward relapse is already beginning and he needs to address it in his counseling session.

There are certain times when the patient is most likely to relapse—during withdrawal or the wall, or during stressful life transitions such as a job change or a move. Holidays can be an especially vulnerable time for the addict. Illness, too, can trigger a relapse. Just knowing that he is vulnerable can help the patient counteract the powerful forces at work. If he finds himself missing his treatment sessions, having dreams about cocaine, or rehearsing justification scripts in his head (such as "I've worked hard, I deserve it," or "It can't hurt just this once"), the patient knows a relapse is right around the corner if he doesn't act.

The patient also needs to learn that negative emotions—stress, depression, boredom, and anxiety—are powerful cues for craving. Teaching patients how to identify these emotional states and how to cope with them is necessary to avoid relapse. The main key to preventing relapse is learning how to get one's life in balance and how to reduce stress. Middle-class cocaine abusers tend to be workaholics or are compulsive about other aspects of their lives. We have to show them how necessary it is to spend enough time on sleep or exercise, and on rewarding relationships and leisure activities. We also have to repeat how important it is that they not use alcohol or other drugs.

A Family Affair

Therapy should also include the patient's immediate family, close friends or relatives, a girlfriend or boyfriend, in sessions both apart from and with the addict. These people are crucial for helping the patient stay in treatment. In our counseling program, we focus on education

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and steer away from psychodynamic material. You are less likely to see cocaine addiction become part of a family as you often see in families of alcoholics, where the addiction can go on for decades—even for generations. The cocaine abuse certainly affects the family; it causes profound problems. But usually because of the cocaine addict's fairly quick progression to critical, life-disrupting problems, the addiction has not been around long enough to result in some of the severe family pathologies associated with alcoholism.

The family needs to know what stages of recovery the addict is going to go through, how to detect relapse, how to react to the addict if they suspect relapse. Many benefits accrue from learning effective communication skills such as not assuming, learning to ask for things openly and not by hinting, and not sending double messages with their facial expressions and body language. We also teach them how best to help—anything from being willing to stay up talking with the addict in the middle of the night when he or she cannot sleep, helping the addict avoid trigger situations, and also walking away from abuse by the addict—and how to differentiate between abuse and the normal irritability of withdrawal. We encourage family members to go with the addict to exercise, to not act as "policemen," and to develop outside interests to enrich their own lives.

Matrix Center has a 12-week family group, which the addict does not attend, run by both a professional therapist and a family member co-leader who has already been through the family group. Again, topics such as effective communication, codependency, healthy intimacy, limitations of living with an addict, and relapse are presented and then discussed. During the first six months, family members must also participate in at least seven conjoint sessions. Typically, these include the addict and spouse or significant other, but can also include children, employers, or friends. The client's individual therapist facilitates the discussion, which focuses on issues of the client's particular stage of recovery. The sessions encourage communication about positive changes, identify and devise strategies for dealing with problem areas, and help diffuse problem situations without intensive couples counseling. Some patients, though, find marriage counseling during the second six months of treatment to be helpful. After the patient has been sober this long, some couples realize that it wasn't just the drug that was causing the problems, and some marriages do break up. But it is amazing how elastic and forgiving spouses and children can be, and most marriages are strengthened by the addiction treatment.

Twelve-Step or AA Programs

Every successful treatment program also encourages participation in a 12-Step or AA-type program—either Alcoholics Anonymous (although not all AA chapters accept cocaine users), Cocaine Anonymous, or Narcotics Anonymous. Twelve-Step programs, which are free, can be a vital part of treatment once the patient has gotten off the drug and has stabilized, but are not a good starting point for many patients. AA-type groups, which seem to work best for middle-class white males, can be a great boon to the recovering cocaine addict. They not only provide peer support, but also help the patient structure his time—especially in the vulnerable evening periods—and relieve feelings of loneliness and isolation that can lead to relapse.

We sponsor weekly AA meetings at the Matrix Center, for which attendance is strongly encouraged but not mandatory. These are standard AA meetings, run according to the traditions of this 12-Step program. Approximately 60 percent of our clients attend AA, but we need to do more to help clients integrate the cognitive/behavioral professional therapy they receive at Matrix with the emotional/spiritual orientation of AA.

Inpatient treatment is excessively expensive for most patients, and is often unnecessary for recovery.

Twelve-Step programs are very seldom used by inner-city youth and racial minorities. The basic underlying philosophy of the 12-Step program could be very helpful to these groups, but the atmosphere of the program can be a turnoff for the street-hardened. The language and some of the philosophy behind the steps may seem too "white." We should look more at how to modify the 12-Step programs to better serve the needs of this community. Some organizations such as Overcomers Outreach, which blend 12-Step principles with more fundamental Christian teachings, appear more acceptable to many minority group participants.

One other problem with 12-Step groups is that participation involves talking at length about the drug, which can often increase cocaine cravings. Alcoholics Anonymous is often more helpful than Cocaine Anonymous because the chapter usually has a longer institutional memory and members have been abstinent for a fairly long time. For Cocaine Anonymous, members with the longest periods of abstinence often have only been off for seven or eight months, and therefore don't have as much experience. This is not to downplay the importance of these programs—they are very important—but only to point out their shortcomings.

Testing the Waters

The successful program regularly tests its patients to ensure that they are staying drug free. For cocaine users, this must be done at least once a week on a random basis because cocaine is metabolized very quickly. Just the knowledge that he may be tested can help the patient stay straight, and it gives his counselors a good indication of how well treatment is working. The big question is what you do about a dirty urine. Some programs have a punitive approach to a positive test. We view a contaminated urine simply as a sign that some component of the treatment is not working for the client for some

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reason. A positive test is not punished, but rather becomes the subject of discussion in the patient's individual counseling—what led up to the relapse, how do we change the treatment to help prevent another one? Of course, if a patient is put in our program by his employer or by the legal system, we usually are under an obligation to report positive tests. We try to discourage this, though.

One drawback to frequent tests is their cost. We have been able to keep costs down a bit by screening only for the drug of choice rather than for all 10 drugs usually screened. We screen for all drugs about 10 percent of the time. Occasionally, the counselor may want to screen for the presence of other drugs if he suspects use. Other drug treatment programs have lowered testing costs by renting their testing services to contractors. Regardless of costs, a drug treatment program won't work unless there is a regular system of testing and the results are acted on in some way.

An AA-type program can be a vital part of treatment once the patient has gotten off the drug and has stabilized, but is not a good starting point for many patients.

Carrots and Sticks

Some treatment programs use a system called contingency contracting. When the patient first enters the program, he is asked to write letters confessing his addiction to cocaine. If he does not fulfill his contract—that is, stay in treatment and away from the drug—then these letters are mailed to employers, licensing boards, lawyers handling child custody, any place they may result in dire consequences such as job or professional license loss, or severed family ties.

Other programs try to introduce positive contingencies. For example, they may have the patient deposit a large sum of money with them, and with each clean urine test, the patient receives back some of the money. (Let's hope it's not large amounts of cash, which could trigger craving!)

Whether positive or negative, contingency contracting has several drawbacks. Once the patient fulfills his contract (usually after 30 or 90 days), he often relapses very quickly. For patients who are at the "bottom" already, it may be very difficult to come up with negative contingencies that have any punch. What contingency contracting is very good at is helping to keep a patient in a treatment program during the most critical stages. (The importance of this should not be underestimated: Dropout rates can be very high, and the longer a person stays in a program, the more likely he is to stay clean.)

I like to stay away from contingency contracting. We do have our patients sign two contracts when they first begin treatment with us—one details their financial obligation; the second states what they are expected to do while in treatment—such as remain in treatment for six months, arrive on time for appointments, give urine samples upon request, and openly discuss their drug use with the counselors. But other than that, we do not use contingency contracting unless the patient just is not responding well to regular treatment. For professional patients such as doctors and lawyers who fit this category, contracting can help. But, in general, I do not like to take a patient who has come to us voluntarily and then put him in the coercive situation of a contract—especially when I know that relapse can be part of the recovery process. Besides, I find contracting not to be "real world." It facilitates game playing when we need to be teaching people how to stay drug-free for the rest of their lives.

Amino Acids and Acupuncture

Some programs have had success by adding other components to the treatment regimen. Along with counseling, they may insist upon a fairly rigorous exercise regimen. Not only does the regular exercise give the addict a sense of power and control, and help to rebuild a body sometimes debilitated by cocaine abuse, but it also can prevent relapse by creating chemical changes in the brain. Regular aerobic exercise causes the body to produce endorphins—the brain's own natural pain blockers and euphoriants—creating what is sometimes called a "runner's high." At Matrix Center we have found that exercise can be crucial for getting the patient through the wall, and can also prevent the excessive weight gain that some patients have as they rediscover food during recovery.

Some programs emphasize nutrition and will help the patient develop healthy eating habits. We have found that irregular eating habits are harmful for many reasons. Skipped meals, of course, make the patient hungry, and hunger can actually cause cocaine craving. Taking foods and drinks that have high sugar or caffeine content can lead to mood swings and fatigue, making the patient much more vulnerable to relapse.

Some programs emphasize supplementing the diet with amino acids, which can be purchased at many health food stores, to help rebuild brain function. Amino acids are the precursors of several neurotransmitters depleted by cocaine. Sometimes patients are given the amino acid tryptophan (which is found naturally in turkey, milk, and nuts) at night to help them sleep and tyrosine (which is found in ripe bananas, aged cheese, and pickled herring) in the morning for higher energy. Sometimes supplements of the B-complex vitamins are given in the hopes of rebuilding a stressed nervous system.

While proper nutrition is important in fortifying the patient's resistance to relapse, I personally have not observed substantial benefits from amino acid supplements. Their major effect may be that of a placebo, and the placebo effect can be especially powerful for cocaine users. This is a group of people who are very sympathetic to taking a substance to elevate moods.

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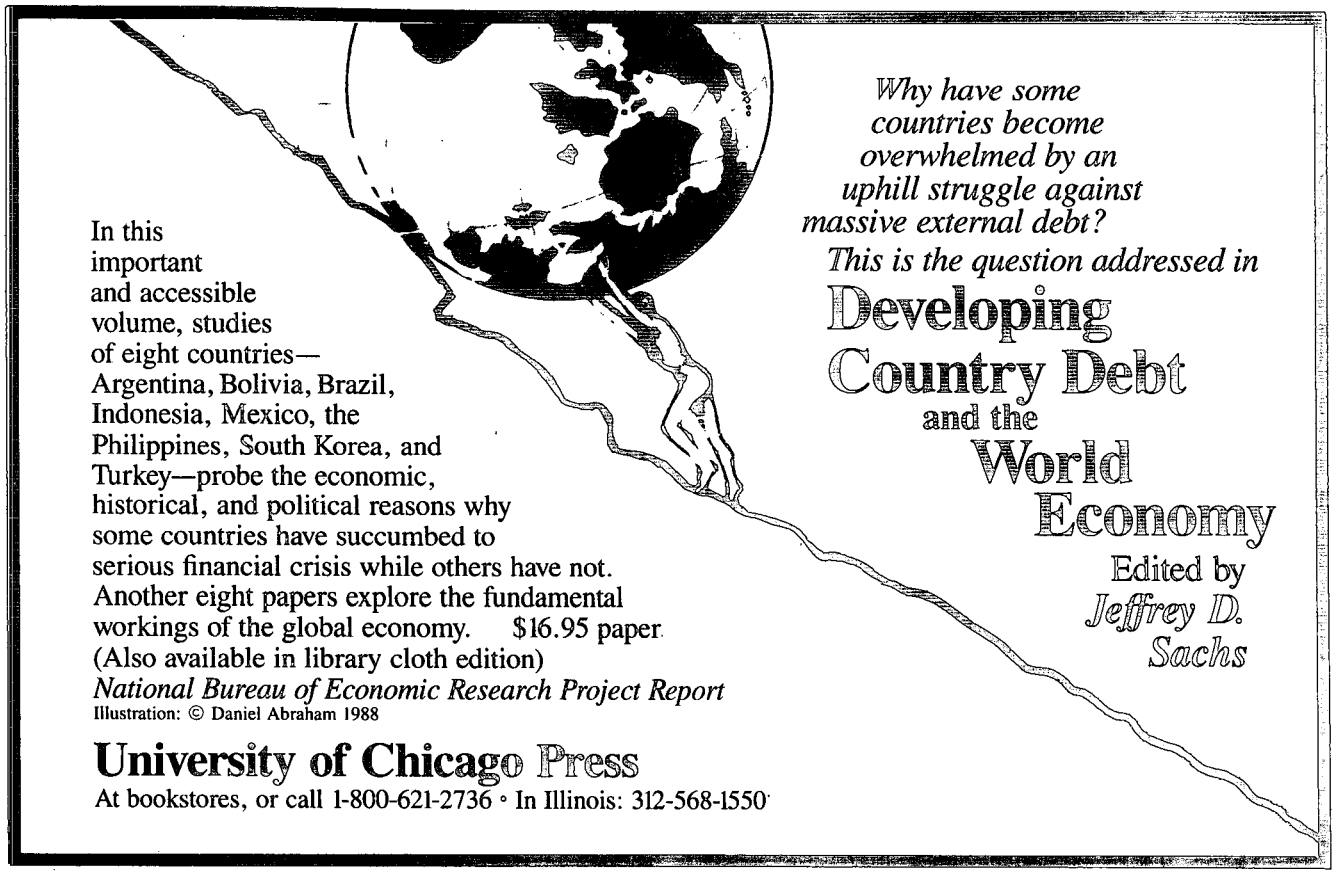
The media have focused attention on programs that use acupuncture. Some critics say that acupuncture's success results from placebo effects or just the attention the patient receives during the treatment. Others claim that acupuncture causes the body to produce endorphins—creating a pleasurable sensation and soothing the nervous system, helping to counteract the anxiety and irritability that characterize the withdrawal and the wall phases. Michael Smith at New York City's Lexington Hospital has reported that acupuncture reduces cravings, but much more research needs to be done.

Ice and Moonrock

Many readers may be saying, well this is all very nice for treating cocaine addiction, but isn't cocaine on its way out and what about all the new drugs bombarding our borders? Many drug abuse researchers are predicting a return to more "calming" drugs such as heroin after America's frantic binge with cocaine. Others are saying that we are about to be inundated with "new drugs" such as Ice (smoked methamphetamine) and Tar or Moonrock (heroin combined with crack and smoked).

Well, cocaine is not on its way out. Even though overall cocaine use is down nationwide, the addiction rate is going up dramatically, thanks to the quickly addicting qualities of crack cocaine and the changing demographics of its users. We still have plenty to learn about how to help people get off cocaine, and we need more research to measure the effectiveness of the new treatment programs we have come up with.

And yes, we are about to be hit with a whole new set of illicit drugs. But, the cocaine crisis of the 1980s has made us better prepared to handle whatever new drugs may come in the 1990s. The severity of the problem and cocaine's widespread use among all levels of society forced us to think more systematically and critically about treatment than we ever had. We have developed whole new strategies for treating drug abuse, such as neurobehavioral counseling, and have also developed new pharmacological approaches. We know more about addiction and its precise effects on the brain. We will not have to go back to the drawing board the way we did at the beginning of the '80s to handle the new drugs that threaten us in the '90s.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Let's Go Deutsch

Confederation Is the Answer to the German Question

Kim R. Holmes

The euphoria in Europe over the opening of the Berlin Wall is clouded by apprehensions about the now much more likely prospects of German reunification. Memories of German invasions and Hitler's atrocities remain, and there are fears among some Europeans of a return to the German expansionism that started two world wars. A different and, in the current environment, more plausible and immediate threat is a neutral Germany that leaves all Europe at the mercy of a still-menacing Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev could offer to withdraw Soviet troops from East Germany in return for a withdrawal of U.S. and other allied troops from West Germany. Reunification on these terms would be devastating for NATO and leave the Soviets unchallenged as Europe's preeminent military power.

Twin Dangers

To preempt such a bold move by Gorbachev, and to forestall the twin dangers of German expansionism and German neutralism, the United States, West Germany, and their European allies must develop a plan for reunification on Western rather than Soviet terms. The goals should be to accommodate German national aspirations for greater association with compatriots east and west, while sharply reducing the Soviet military presence in East Germany, maintaining American and other NATO security ties with West Germany, and extending democratic and free-market institutions into East Germany. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's "confederation" proposal of November 28 is a very good step in this direction.

As Germany now contemplates reunification, three alternatives emerge: keeping the status quo of a divided Germany; founding a completely reunified state with a single army and with all affairs administered by a single centralized apparatus; or creating a loose confederation of the existing German states in which some functions are administered in common (such as transportation, the mail, and environmental policy) and some are not (such as foreign and defense policy).

The best alternative for the United States, Germany, and Europeans is the last: a German confederation that would be modeled on the European Parliament, a representative body of the Common Market. This option would allow West Germany to remain a member of NATO while either establishing East Germany as a neutral zone with no Soviet troops on its territory, or allowing East Germany to remain in the Warsaw Pact with only a token presence of Soviet forces.

Power Vacuum

For the United States and its West European allies, such a settlement is preferable to the specter of a united but neutral Germany. Even if there were an East-West conventional arms reduction agreement, Moscow still would remain Europe's dominant military power. With a non-aligned Germany out of NATO, Central Europe would be off-limits to the truncated Atlantic Alliance, leaving NATO without logistical support, communications, defensive positions, or even overflight rights east of France and the Low Countries. In such a situation, the United States undoubtedly would call home its forces and would have dim prospects of redeploying them in Germany in case of war. The result would be a power vacuum in the heart of Europe that only a large German army could fill.

Germany itself, as a neutral state, would be left without the protection of America's nuclear forces as a deterrent to war, and thus completely vulnerable to Soviet nuclear intimidation. The Germans could try to counter Soviet strategic weapons by developing their own nuclear weapons, but this would likely prove to be extremely destabilizing.

But if a fully reunified neutral Germany is not in the interest of the United States and its European allies, a partly unified Germany in which Soviet influence is greatly reduced in East Germany is. So long as West Germany is anchored in the Western Alliance, it will be an effective counter to Soviet power and therefore a strategic asset to Europe and the United States. The character of NATO (and the Warsaw Pact) could change as military forces are reduced by international agreement, but West Germany and America would remain

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natural allies with largely overlapping interests in balancing Soviet military power and expanding Western democratic and economic institutions into Eastern Europe.

Will Moscow Acquiesce?

While West Germany within the German confederation would remain in NATO, East Germany would have two choices: to become a neutral zone from which all Soviet troops are withdrawn, or to remain in the Warsaw Pact, allowing a token Soviet troop contingent on its soil. If the Soviets cut their forces in East Germany, U.S. force levels in West Germany also would be greatly reduced, perhaps to token levels.

If East Germany were to become neutral, it would have to pledge not to join NATO and not to station its troops on West German soil, in order to reassure the Soviets that East Germany would never join a military alliance against them. By the same token, West Germany would pledge not to join the Warsaw Pact, and not to station West German or NATO troops on East German soil. East Germany's neutral status could be guaranteed by an international agreement signed by the two German states and the four Allied Powers of World War II—the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and Great Britain. This agreement would allow East Germany to retain a defense force, but bar it from merging with the West German army.

While these security arrangements would have to be negotiated between the two German states and the four Allied Powers, they ultimately should be decided and announced by Bonn and East Berlin, and ratified by the German Confederation's National Assembly once it is legally convened.

Moscow's acquiescence is, of course, essential. The Soviet Union will probably oppose reunification in the short term, but it may have no choice but to settle for a closer association of the two Germanies in the future. Events may spin out of control in East Germany, and Moscow may prefer a solution to the German Question negotiated under international auspices to one decided solely by the Germans. If faced with the prospects of East Germany quitting the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union may be willing to accept a settlement that guarantees that neither NATO nor West Germany will turn East Germany militarily against the Soviet Union.

The U.S. as German Shepherd

The United States has a special role to play in the negotiations, because other European democracies will feel most comfortable about a German confederation—and thus more willing to work for partial reunification on Western terms—if the United States is involved in the process. If a reformist regime emerges in East Germany, the United States should propose the creation of a Commission on Inter-German Affairs, comprised of an upper chamber with official representatives from West and East Germany, the United States, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, and a lower chamber with elected officials from West and East Germany.

This Commission would call an All-German Constituent Assembly to write a constitution, manage inner-German affairs during the transition toward a new confederation, and monitor free elections in East Germany. It would also call for the upper chamber to serve as a negotiating forum for the creation of the new German confederation. The Commission could be used as a forum to negotiate a German Peace Treaty between Germany and the victorious Allied Powers of World War II, formally ending that war in Europe. Once the Commission had completed its work, it would be disbanded.

Germany's Federal Tradition

A confederated Germany has deep historical roots, beginning in 962 with the Holy Roman Empire, in which separate principalities carried on independent foreign policies while remaining politically associated with one another in the Imperial Diet. In 1815 there was the German Confederation, and in 1866 the North German Confederation. Notwithstanding Bismarck and Hitler, German history is marked more by regionalism than by centralism. The regional ties of Bavarians, Hamburgers, Rhinelanders, Prussians, and others are stronger than their emotional commitment to a greater Germany.

The tradition could continue with East and West Germany's loose association in a decentralized confederation, rather than in a highly centralized nation-state. The confederation's National Assembly could have a symbolic president and send observers to the United Nations, as the European Community does, while Bonn and East Berlin maintain separate permanent representatives at the U.N. The National Assembly set up to govern the confederation could coordinate political and economic affairs between the two German states, and even administer some functions, such as the post office and transportation; remaining separate would be the foreign and defense ministries. The National Assembly sessions could be held in the old German *Reichstag* building in Berlin, while West Germany and East Germany could hold their regional parliaments respectively in the West German Parliament House (*Bundeshaus*) in Bonn and in what is today called the People's Chamber (*Volkskammer*) in East Berlin.

While West Germany would remain in NATO, East Germany would become a neutral zone or remain in the Warsaw Pact, allowing a token Soviet troop contingent.

Hands Off Poland

A pro-Western approach to German reunification would require:

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• **Free and fair elections in East Germany.** The United States, Britain, and France are explicitly committed in Article 7, paragraph 2, of the 1954 Treaty with the Federal Republic of Germany, "to achieve by peaceful means, their common aim of a reunified Germany, enjoying a liberal-democratic constitution, like that of the Federal Republic, and integrated within the European community." This democratic constitution for a greater Germany could be formed only if the people in East Germany could elect representatives freely to a Constituent Assembly.

• **Open borders between East and West Germany.** A reunified Germany could not exist without permanent open borders, as exist today between West Germany and Austria. Events in November indicate that the opening of borders already has begun.

• **Inviolability of German borders with non-German states.** Both Germanies have signed the 1975 Helsinki Accords, which require all participants to respect the "territorial integrity" of all countries in Europe. Bonn's 1970 Treaty normalizing relations with Poland also commits West Germany to the inviolability of their existing frontiers. These documents prevent East Berlin and Bonn from legally pressing for the return to Germany of its territories lost to Poland after World War II. Since neither of the two German states has expressed a great desire for a return of these territories, the border question at this time should not be a major obstacle to German reunification.

The Bettmann Archive

Memories of earlier militarism make total reunification unacceptable to Germany's neighbors.

Support within Germany

Support is growing in West Germany for some form of an all-German confederation. Chancellor Kohl announced a plan on November 28 to create a German confederation very similar to the one outlined here. West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher endorses the idea, stating in an interview in the September 25, 1989, issue of the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*: "We should bring together the approaching European federalism with our German federalism. A European federalism and a German federalism, if they could cover the same ground, [would] open new forms of co-existence....Why shouldn't there be room within a federal Europe for a German federalism that includes all Germans?"

A German confederation would benefit not only West Germany but also America and the West by preserving the basic structure of NATO and spreading the democratic and economic values of the Atlantic Community into Eastern Europe. With open borders to the West, democratic institutions and free markets, and close political ties with West Germany within the confederation, East Germany could develop over time Western-style political and economic systems much like those of West Germany and Austria. In turn, an economically strong and democratic German confederation could be a political and economic vanguard in Eastern Europe, developing ties with Hungary, Poland, and other emerging East European democracies that badly need Western assistance.

This approach may impose some restrictions on the sovereignty of Germany as a whole, but no more so than exist for Austria, which endures some minor limitations on its defense policies under the 1955 Austrian State Treaty. Such limitations would be a small price to pay for the advent of democracy in East Germany, the permanent opening of borders between East and West Germany, and the withdrawal of Soviet forces from East Germany. Like Austria, all of Germany in effect would become part of the West, notwithstanding restrictions on security arrangements.

A German confederation is thus a compromise between the two extremes of complete division and full reunification. Complete division surely is unacceptable to Germans. Full reunification with West Germany outside NATO certainly is unacceptable to the United States and other European democracies. Full reunification with all of Germany in NATO would be unacceptable to the Soviet Union. The great advantage of confederation, by contrast, is that it accommodates German national aspirations without weakening the West or infringing on the security interests of Germany's neighbors. ☎

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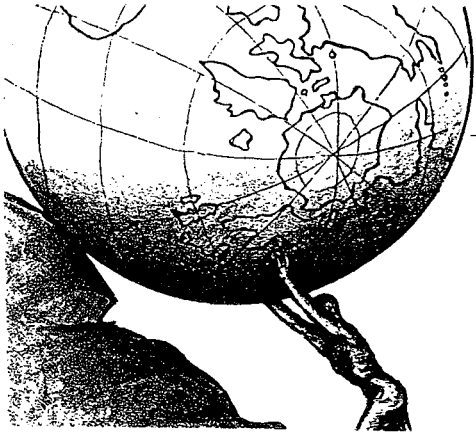

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Moscow on the Mississippi

America's Soviet-Style Farm Policy

Representative Dick Armey

Even as perestroika comes to the Communist world, our own federal farm programs remain as American monuments to the folly of central planning. Through subsidies, price supports, import barriers, and countless regulations, the Department of Agriculture continues to try to manage half of U.S. farming, with the predictable result of staggering waste and inefficiency of almost Soviet proportions. If we have reached the end of history with the vindication of the free economy, the USDA has not yet heard the word.

Fifty years ago, when the Roosevelt administration announced certain "temporary emergency measures," farm programs were highly controversial. Something about paying farmers *not* to farm, as many of the programs did, struck the public as ludicrous. Even Henry Wallace, the Agriculture Secretary who conceived the idea, remarked, "I hope we shall never have to resort to it again. To destroy a standing crop goes against the soundest instincts of human nature." The USDA has been resorting to it ever since.

Under the current farm law, passed in 1985, the Department of Agriculture has paid dairy farmers to kill 1.6 million cows and take five-year vacations from farming. It has enforced regulations that have led to the squandering of 3 billion oranges, 2 billion lemons, and hundreds of millions of pounds of nuts and raisins. It has rewarded crop farmers for leaving idle 61 million acres of farmland—an area equal to all the territory of Ohio and Indiana, and half of Illinois. For these dubious contributions to American competitiveness, the USDA has charged the taxpayers about $20 billion a year and forced consumers to pay $10 billion a year in higher food costs.

As James Bovard has recently written in *The Farm Fiasco:*

> Farm subsidies are the equivalent of giving every full-time subsidized farmer two new Mercedes Benz automobiles each year. Annual subsidies for each dairy cow in the United States exceed the per capita income for half the population of the world. With the $260 billion that the government and consumers have spent on farm subsidies since 1980, Uncle Sam could have bought every farm, barn, and tractor in 33 states. The average American head of household worked almost one week a year in 1986 and 1987 simply to pay for welfare for fewer than a million farmers.

Farm programs are unrivaled for their sheer economic absurdity, and they are fertile ground for serious spending reductions. Sadly, however, they are being neglected by key policymakers—even as the new farm bill comes under consideration on Capitol Hill.

Five-Year Plans

Our farm economy is governed by a series of five-year plans. (Surely Stalin would appreciate the irony.) The last five-year farm bill, which has cost over $100 billion to date, was signed by President Reagan in 1985. The next, which will guide farm spending through 1995, is now being considered by Congress.

Although the Reagan administration failed to terminate or privatize many deserving government programs, it at least restructured the major entitlements, saving billions of dollars in the long run. Cost controls were imposed on Medicare, the huge military and civil service pension programs were completely reorganized, and even Social Security benefits were trimmed in the reform of 1983. Virtually the only major program to escape is agriculture, which remains a stubborn pocket of resistance to the Reagan Revolution.

In fact, the cost of farm programs has exploded under the Republicans. As recently as 1980, farm price supports cost the taxpayers only about $3 billion. By 1986, they had skyrocketed to an unprecedented $26 billion, making farm programs the fastest growing part of the federal budget during the Reagan years, dwarfing the percentage increases of defense and health care. The farm sector was practically a free market economy when Jimmy Carter was president.

Today, farm programs are so generous and distort markets so severely that even the most self-reliant farmer

Dick Armey, *a former economics professor, is a Republican congressman from Texas.*

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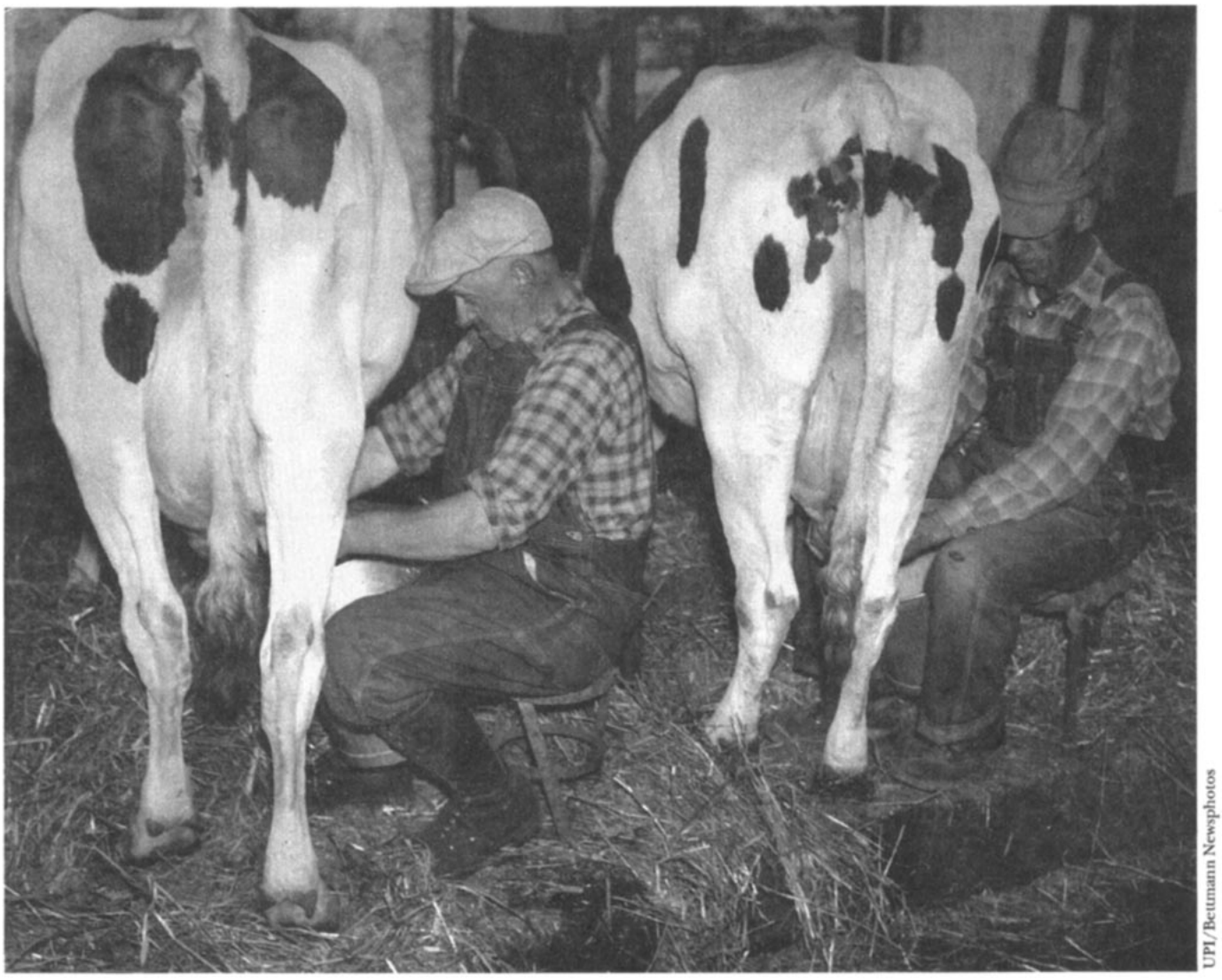

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The USDA has paid dairy farmers to kill 1.6 million cows and to take five-year vacations from farming.

has little choice but to sign up. In 1982, when farm programs were mushrooming, only one in five Indiana corn farmers signed up for federal benefits. David Rapp of *Congressional Quarterly* explains, "In Indiana, taking money from the federal government was a sign of poor farm management or, worse, socialistic political tendencies." By 1987, however, half the corn farmers in the state had joined the programs. Nationally, the amount of corn-growing land covered by federal programs jumped from 30 to 90 percent between 1982 and 1987. "It's almost to a point where it's mandatory for a farmer to be in the program," an Indiana banker says.

The Reagan administration's repeated unwillingness to make even minor agriculture reforms were to David Stockman "the smoking gun which proved that the White House couldn't tackle the fabulous excesses of the farm pork barrel, and that was the very bottom of the whole spending barrel."

Pennies from Willie Nelson

Unfortunately, the Bush administration may be preparing to surrender the field as well. The administration has apparently only begun to think about its farm policy. The opportunity to propose and achieve major farm reform is rapidly slipping away. In fact, despite the billions of dollars at stake, this year's farm debate may be the quietest in a decade. In 1985, farm programs had become a "cause" on a level with the Nuclear Freeze. Cissy Spacek and Jessica Lange testified before Congress to share the insights on agricultural policy they had gained while starring in Hollywood movies about farming. Country singer Willie Nelson held a Farm Aid concert, which collected a few million dollars for farmers above the $26 billion that Congress would soon be sending them. In the general hysteria of a "crisis on the farm," conservatives and liberals alike scrutinized the farm bill. But, as of this writing, the media has not yet discovered a new farm crisis to draw attention to the coming debate this year.

More important, the farm lobby is now using, with some effect, the breathtaking argument that farm programs are actually *contributing* to deficit reduction. They point out that this year's price support spending of $12 billion represents a decline from the $26 billion we spent in the record-shattering year of 1986 (which, of course, says more about spending in 1986 than it does

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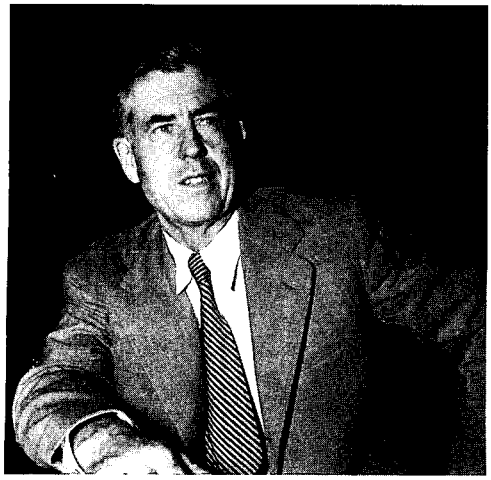

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Two relics of the 1930s—Henry Wallace's agricultural policies and Stalin's Soviet Union.

about spending today).

When the 1981 farm bill came before Congress, the USDA said it would cost $12 billion over four years. It actually cost $60 billion. When the 1985 farm bill came to the floor, the USDA said it would cost $52 billion over five years. It has already cost more than $100 billion. Any recent reduction in farm spending is thus only a partial reduction of a spectacular cost overrun—a cost overrun larger than the gross national product of several countries. To fail to reform the USDA after such monumental prodigality would be comparable to making Deborah Gore Dean the new Secretary of HUD.

Homegrown Industrial Policy

The farm lobby's most important advantage is that few people understand its programs. As one farmer told *Insight* magazine, "Sitting here on the farm and knowing the money being spent on farm programs, I think if people understood it more and knew they were paying that kind of price, there'd be an uprising." Even the eyes of otherwise well-informed policymakers glaze over at terms like "nonrecourse loans," "base acreage," and "deficiency payments." They tend to leave farm policy to the farm lobby and legislators from farm states. While the Armed Services Committee has its Pat Schroeder and Ron Dellums, there are no fundamental critics of farm subsidies on the Agricultural Committees.

This is unfortunate. For all their apparent complexity, the general idea behind the biggest of the farm programs is simple. Basically, they work like this:

First, the government spends hundreds of millions of dollars to raise farm incomes by raising the prices of certain farm commodities. This has the effect of encouraging farmers to produce those commodities in large amounts, while encouraging customers (like those in our overseas export markets) to buy them in small amounts. Soon a massive surplus occurs. Then the government spends hundreds of millions of dollars to encourage farmers to stop producing them.

By analogy, suppose Congress decided that American cars should be sold for at least $15,000 apiece. Even though a Ford Escort might sell for half that on the open market, Congress might argue that making cars is expensive and the Great American Autoworker deserves to be adequately rewarded for his labors. So it passes a bill, and the government announces that, henceforth, no car will sell for a nickel less than that target price—even if the government has to buy them itself.

There is gaiety in Detroit. Suddenly, everyone wants to be in the car business. New factories open, old ones are expanded, some that were going to produce other things continue producing autos instead. Cars begin rolling off the assembly line by the thousands, then the tens of thousands.

But then something completely unexpected happens. A huge surplus of American cars mysteriously appears. Foreign sales vanish, domestic sales drop. There aren't enough people willing to pay $15,000 for Ford Escorts. Baffled, government bureaucrats find themselves having to buy more and more. Soon government parking garages are overflowing. For a time, the crisis is eased when the government gives some of the extra cars to Zimbabwe under the "Drive for Peace" program. Others are given to poor people and students through the welfare system. But these measures are inadequate.

Eventually, the government hits upon a solution. Stop guaranteeing a $15,000 sticker price for cars? Not at all. Instead, the government decides to pay Detroit to shut down its factories (at which point there is gaiety in Tokyo).

The OPEC School of Farming

The largest farm programs apply to wheat, corn, rice, cotton, and a few other crops. The prices on these commodities are artificially supported by various government policies. For example, the government may make a loan to farmers, based on a loan rate set by Congress. If the farmer can sell his crop for more than the loan amount, he does so, and returns the government's money. But if he cannot, he can keep the loan money and give the government his crop instead. In effect, the farmer is guaranteed that he can sell his crop at the government's price. The problem is that Congress sets that price above market level.

The USDA has one bureaucrat for every six full-time farmers.

This leads to massive surpluses. At that point, the government buys the surplus and tries to distribute it through the welfare system, foreign aid, or other programs, and begins paying farmers not to farm in a

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frantic effort to reduce production. The government manages farms like a man trying to drive a car by putting his feet on the accelerator and the brake at the same time.

Other farm programs hike prices and cut production in other ways. Under the dairy program, local dairy cooperatives are allowed to form government-protected monopolies. Because there is no competition, people have no choice but to buy milk at high prices—which is a good arrangement for the big cooperatives, but a bad arrangement for parents who buy milk for their children. The resulting dairy surpluses have been reduced by the government's paying dairy farmers to slaughter or export their cows and leave dairy farming for five years. (Can anyone imagine the government paying automakers to destroy *or export* their machines? And then not to work for five years?)

Similar rules, called marketing orders, allow a few large California orange growers to decide how many California oranges may be released to the market. By forcing all the state's orange growers to withhold as much as two-thirds of their crops (and watch them rot), the large producers can set the price for the rest of their fruits at a high level. If a small producer defies the large growers and tries to sell his oranges at a lower price, he is prosecuted by the federal government. This is great for Sunkist, bad for everyone else. One grower merely tried to give away his oranges to a church helping the needy, and the USDA threatened to sue him for it. In effect, the government is the enforcer of a cartel—a miniature OPEC for oranges.

Deporting Our Farmland

"Supply control" policies—paying farmers not to farm—epitomize the attitude, prevalent throughout the USDA and the Agriculture Committees in Congress, that farm productivity is a problem rather than a national asset. In the 1985 Farm Bill and in other legislation, Congress has given the USDA a number of weapons to use against farmers who are too productive. The Acreage Reduction Program is typical. A farmer is told that if he wants to receive federal farm benefits, he must first agree to take a percentage of his land out of production. It is not uncommon for a wheat farmer, for instance, to be told to leave a quarter of his land idle.

There is also a "paid land diversion" program, in which a farmer simply receives a check from the government for idling acres; a conservation program, in which he is paid to take erosion-prone land out of production (as if he cannot himself see the wisdom in preserving his land); and a new "0/92" program in which he can get up to 92 percent of his federal benefits if he agrees not to plant anything at all.

Like any central planning effort, whether in the Soviet Union or the American Corn Belt, all supply-control policies are riddled with irrationalities and unintended consequences. Even though the USDA has one bureaucrat for every six full-time farmers, fine-tuning the farm economy is a difficult task.

While the set-asides are supposed to be good for farmers, they inadvertently devastate the rural businesses that depend on farming, and end up hurting almost as many people as they are intended to help. Just as a government policy that would pay automakers not to make cars would hurt the glass, steel, and rubber industries, paying farmers not to farm hurts everyone from the fertilizer companies to the tractor dealers. According to the USDA's own figures, payments to farmers to idle acreage cost the economy 300,000 potential jobs and $4 billion in lost sales for the "farm input" industry in 1987.

Then there is unfair competition. Under the Dairy Termination Program, the government's final solution to the "problem" of milk productivity, dairy farmers were paid to slaughter their cows and take five-year vacations. It apparently never occurred to the USDA or Congress that this might have an effect on the ranchers who raise beef cattle. It did. When the government announced that it was going to have a million dairy cows killed, everyone realized that the market would soon be inundated with tons of additional meat. The market instantly collapsed, and cattlemen lost $25 million in the first week alone.

The government typically behaves as if its many different policies were conceived by different groups of people who never talk to each other. At the same time one part of the government is spending billions of dollars to encourage farmers to take their land out of production, another is spending billions more (and wasting precious water resources) to irrigate new farmland in the Southwest. While the government is paying some dairy farmers to take a vacation from farming for five years, it is giving cheap loans to other farmers to expand their operations. Our farm programs are at war with themselves.

Under the current farm law, the USDA has enforced regulations that have led to the squandering of 3 billion oranges, 2 billion lemons, and hundreds of millions of pounds of nuts and raisins.

For all their contradictions and unintended consequences, however, supply controls ultimately represent a calculated government effort to lower the productivity of one of our largest industries. Telling farmers to idle their land is like telling factory managers to operate their plants far below full capacity. It is tremendously inefficient, and the consequences are predictable. While U.S. farmers are being directed by the government to take their land out of production, farmers in Canada, Australia, Argentina, and Europe have been eagerly planting. As the USDA has paid U.S. farmers to idle 61

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million acres, foreigners have planted 70 million new acres since 1980. In effect, the USDA deported our farmland.

The problem at the root of farm programs is this: While a sound economy should produce an abundance of goods that can then be sold at a low price, our farm programs are designed to create a scarcity of goods that can then be sold at a high price. Having a "surplus" of

As the USDA has paid U.S. farmers to idle 61 million acres, foreigners have planted 70 million new acres since 1980. In effect, the USDA deported our farmland.

corn does not mean that farmers produce too much corn, only that they produce more corn than can be sold at the government-inflated price. Farm productivity is good, so long as the market is permitted to function. If the government did not artificially inflate the price of corn and wheat, efficient U.S. farmers could plant fencerow to fencerow and dominate global markets. If high production then forced the price of corn and wheat very low—which wouldn't be the worst thing that could happen in a hungry world—then some farmers would switch to growing crops that people need more. And some farmers might even leave farming.

Latter-Day Luddites

This last possibility—that even a single farmer might quit farming—haunts some farm legislators. The guiding spirit of much of our farm policy seems to be a desire to freeze the farm economy in time—to stop all change, prevent all innovations, scorn all efficiencies—out of a fear that somebody in the farming business might have to switch jobs. In 1985, the House Agriculture Committee even voted to outlaw an automatic egg-breaking machine, "The Egg King," because it would hurt egg producers who package powdered eggs for the armed services and cafeterias. More recently, a milk producers' lobby opposed the use of a hormone that would vastly increase the production of milk. As we move into the competitive 1990s, one of America's largest industries is being run by latter-day Luddites.

Many believe that farming is a uniquely uncertain business because of the weather. Without some government cushions in the form of price supports and other programs, no farmer according to this argument could survive the vagaries of the farm marketplace.

But how would the farmer fare without farm programs? Contrary to popular misconception, almost half of U.S. farmers grow crops that receive no federal price supports. Anything from meat to vegetables to specialty crops are produced by farmers operating in a free or nearly free economy. The bankruptcy rate of those farmers has actually been lower than the bankruptcy rate of farmers "benefiting" from federal programs. If potatoes can be grown without federal help, corn can as well.

The fluctuations in the market caused by the USDA's inept attempts at central planning have caused the modern farmer more grief than Mother Nature ever has. Any cattleman who was nearly bankrupted when the USDA and Congress had a whim to pay for the slaughter of a million cows can tell us much about the vagaries of the marketplace.

In a number of ways, federal programs hurt the farmers they are intended to benefit. For example, federal crop subsidies raise the value of farmland, which is good for the landowners, but almost half of American farmers rent their land. When the government raises the value of the land, their rents rise.

The Farm Credit System provides cheap, subsidized loans to farmers who are uncreditworthy and cannot receive loans elsewhere. This means that farmers who saved their money and managed their farms wisely have to compete against those who have been bailed out by the government. It also means that inept farmers are encouraged by the government to stay in farming longer than many of them should. Rather than move to town after a few bad years, the cheap federal money encourages them to stay on the farm until they have lost everything. Then the government forecloses on them.

The family farm might flourish in the absence of farm programs. The current subsidy system compels farmers to concentrate on maximizing their yields rather than on minimizing their costs. This gives an advantage to large, heavily mechanized farms over smaller, family operations. Wealthy farmers can afford the huge combines that allow them to outproduce small farmers and even buy them out. Without price supports, however, the advantage would shift to small operations with low production costs and free labor—the family farm. As Dennis Avery, an analyst with the Hudson Institute, has written: "Federal farm programs have led to an overcapitalization of agriculture with less actual employment than what it would otherwise have." Contrary to the fears of the Agriculture Committees, without farm programs, we might have *more* farmers than we do today.

World Champion Log Rollers

The farm lobby cannot prevail through its numbers alone. According to Bernal Green and Thomas Carlin, two economists with the USDA, while no one expects farming to be a dominant industry in large metropolitan areas, "it's surprising to find that farming isn't all that important to most of the nation's rural counties either." They estimate that only 46 of the 435 congressional districts are farm oriented.

Like the labor unions, however, farm groups have used political organizing skill to amplify their power far beyond their numbers. First, differences between the various groups are minimized. Although the dairy farmers have different interests than do the sugar

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producers, for example, they tend to support each other's claims before Congress. They are champion logrollers. David Nagle, a Democrat from Iowa, took the floor last fall and referred quite explicitly to a deal farm state legislators had cut with the maritime unions. In return for congressmen from farm states supporting "cargo preference requirements" (sort of a "ship-American" rule), the maritime interests agreed to support the farm programs. As Nagle explained it:

> Had we been forced to rely on our own farm state votes, none of those [agriculture] programs would have been enacted. Our numbers are small and getting smaller. So—back in 1985—we farm state members sat down with other groups facing the same problem and reached an agreement on the proper scope of the cargo preference requirements.

Nevertheless, the strength of the farm bloc may be overrated. As recently as 1980 the farm economy was relatively free of intrusive farm programs. The dairy program could have been terminated in 1985 had it not been for the general "farm crisis" hysteria that year. The House voted to abolish both the sugar and honey programs in 1981 (although they still survived).

An Agenda for Perestroika

As we continue the farm debate this spring, there are several initiatives that should be considered in Congress. While major reforms are unlikely without the active involvement of the administration, public discussion of many points could cause the farm lobby some healthy discomfiture and cast farm programs in their proper light. The policies we consider should:

The political strength of the farm bloc may be overrated. Only 46 of the 435 congressional districts are farm oriented.

- **Shift from price supports to welfare for farmers.** If the goal of our farm programs is to help needy farmers, we should do so directly with welfare payments rather than with the complex and costly system of price supports. Agricultural economist Clifton B. Luttrell estimates that such a welfare policy would cost $4 billion a year at most, far less than the $12 billion the USDA is now spending.
- **Repeal all marketing orders.** The semi-feudal regulations that prohibit free Americans from selling oranges in California without the approval of Sunkist are perhaps the most offensive element of our farm programs in principle. Current law prohibits the Office of Management and Budget from even studying them. Marketing orders should be repealed.
- **Terminate the dairy program.** This is the program in which farmers were paid to kill their cows and take five-year vacations from farming so that parents can pay higher prices for milk at the grocery store. It should not exist.
- **Stop paying farmers not to farm.** The average man on the street does not want the USDA to pay farmers not to farm. It is an affront to common sense, an insult to farmers, and an attack on American competitiveness. An amendment should be attached to this year's farm bill repealing the USDA's authority to reward farmers for idling their land.

When I was an economics professor, I liked to tell my students about Armey's Axiom No. 1: "The market is rational; the government is dumb." Farm programs are replete with examples that validate that principle. In the stench of billions of rotting oranges, the spectacle of a million slaughtered cows, and the stillness of 61 million acres of idled farmland, one can discern the fundamental truth: The free market works and central planning does not.

Betsy Berlin

Farm subsidies are the equivalent of giving every full-time subsidized farmer two new Mercedes Benz automobiles each year.

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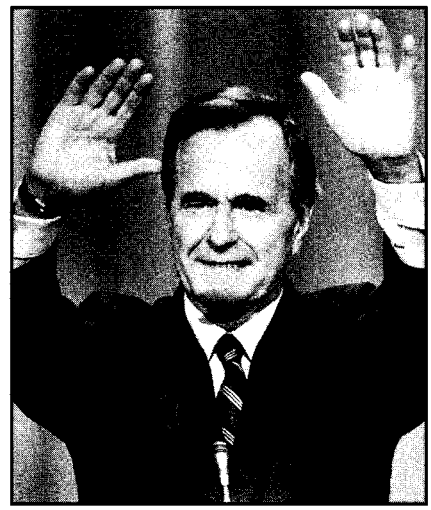
Bush and his Cabinet

A First-Year Report Card

Edward H. Crane, Amy Moritz, Burton Yale Pines, Pat Robertson, Paul M. Weyrich

In November 1989, *Policy Review* asked a large number of conservative leaders to offer first-year grades and evaluations of President George Bush, his key White House officials, and his Cabinet. Most of those leaders were reluctant to make public their assessments at this stage. Evaluations were received from Edward H. Crane, president of the libertarian Cato Institute; Amy Moritz, executive director of the National Center for Public Policy Research; Burton Yale Pines, senior vice president and director of research at The Heritage Foundation and associate publisher of this magazine; Pat Robertson, chief executive officer of the Christian Broadcasting Network; and Paul M. Weyrich, director of the Free Congress Foundation.

President of the United States



George Bush

D CRANE: Bush avoids an "F" by his measured response to developments in Eastern Europe. On the domestic front he has been inexcusably weak. Lacking any sense of vision or philosophical commitment, he has filled his Cabinet with technocrats and forfeited any claim the Republicans might once have had to being the party of small government. Bush is a creature of government who does not object to a single federal program or department. In light of rampant reregulation of the economy, the spineless S&L bailout, caving in to leftist environmentalists, and the lack of any initiatives to reduce the size of government, his continued popularity among conservatives is a sad commentary on what's left of the Reagan Revolution.

C- MORITZ: It's been said that Ronald Reagan promised a revolution, and delivered a dinner party. George Bush promised administrative competence, and is not delivering. During his first year, Reagan revamped our defenses, won a $750 billion tax cut, and switched Congress on abortion. Bush has not even one victory of this magnitude, and none on the horizon. The budget and Congress are dictating domestic affairs, and there is not so much as a seed for a "Bush Doctrine" on foreign affairs. George Bush is not sure why he wants to be president. Without a vision, Bush's first instinct is to react to events; to "split the difference" between opposing viewpoints. This is kind, it is gentle, but it's not leadership. And if George Bush doesn't assert authority soon, he is going to find that more and more of Washington's policy power is located on the other side of Pennsylvania Avenue. He simply must aspire to more than high numbers on personal popularity polls. (He should also pardon North and Poindexter.) Bush must demonstrate, *at minimum,* administrative competence, or find a "dinner party" of his own.

B PINES: Bush's interim grade, well before final exams. He did not take office to make a revolution, and he hasn't. Although he is clearly presidential, his rhetoric and style do not match the generally admirable quality of his decisions; as such, he distressingly fails to inspire and motivate his troops and potential allies and to make the case to voters why his philosophy and party deserve their support. He performs best on the macro-issues: refusing to consider tax hikes, willing to accept Gramm-Rudman budget sequestration,

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demanding spending cuts, drawing on his significant foreign policy experience to craft careful and nuanced policies toward China, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Mexico, demanding and receiving greater powers in intelligence matters. His demerits come on Central America, an unimaginative approach to education and housing vouchers, a disinclination to muscle Congress, his lukewarm support for SDI, his pandering to the Establishment in minority communities rather than credentialing new leadership cadres among African-Americans and Hispanics, and his allowing entrenched bureaucrats to sabotage some of his good ideas, such as those for clean air.

B **ROBERTSON:** George Bush is exactly the kind of president I expected him to be: steady, competent, unimaginative. Because of his predisposition toward caution, he has pursued the correct policy toward the East bloc, which is to do very little except celebrate freedom's progress. But his wait-and-see approach also has pitfalls, as we saw in the Panama fiasco, when the United States had a golden opportunity to take out Noriega. The central weakness of the Bush presidency is its lack of a moral center of gravity. Ronald Reagan taught us that a president can take controversial stands and still be very successful politically. He opposed abortion even in cases of rape and incest; he went to Bitburg despite enormous pressure not to go; he took a firm stand against the nuclear freeze in the face of tremendous criticism by the media, Congress, and our allies; he cut the top tax rate from 70 to 28 percent even when his friends were calling his program "voodoo economics." President Reagan's firm commitment to principle began a political realignment. But that realignment will not proceed unless President Bush becomes more confrontational with the Democrats. He must show the American people there is a clear difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties on economic freedom, national security, commitment to traditional moral values, and punishing criminals. So far he has not done that with clarity. He has not told the American people where he wants to go. He has not outlined a cogent policy agenda for them to support. If he continues on this course, he will be remembered as a good president and a decent man, but he will not capture the moral imagination of the people and there will be no realignment.

B **WEYRICH:** President Bush, unlike his predecessor, is in charge of the country. He knows what is going on at all times, and is actively involved in the administration. The country feels that and appreciates it. But he has failed to operate in a context larger than himself. He cannot achieve major policy victories, because his concentration on the art of governing and personal politics prevents him from constructively polarizing and thus moving the country toward specific policy goals.

Vice President of the United States

Dan Quayle

A **MORITZ:** Reporters don't interview Dan Quayle to find out what he thinks, they do it to catch him disagreeing with Bush, making a misstatement, or sounding "too conservative." Quayle has done a tremendous job under this pressure and it's time the American people told the bullies in the media to lay off. Quayle is operating the Office of the Vice President with effectiveness. He's accessible, knows his policy, and delivers on his promises.

A- **PINES:** Performs well above expectations. Clearly has vision, determination, and a sense of strategy. Successful foreign trips. Very solid staff.

A **ROBERTSON:** Dan Quayle has been a superb vice president. He has become the point man for the administration's SDI anti-missile program. He has roundly denounced Daniel Ortega's outrages, which have become almost daily occurrences. He has cautioned against moving too quickly to support Mikhail Gorbachev's reform efforts, noting that the Soviets are still sending military equipment to the Communist Kabul regime in Afghanistan and, in this past year alone, have sent hundreds of millions of dollars in weapons to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. He has been a forceful advocate for the president's capital gains tax cut and an articulate opponent of abortion. Whether he can rehabilitate himself politically after the vicious beating he took from the media last fall remains to be seen. I hope he can.

A- **WEYRICH:** Quayle has proved to be a very effective advocate of conservative positions within the administration and as a liaison with conservatives on Capitol Hill. He has selected the right staff, and more recently began national networking that may make him harder to replace as Bush's running mate. Were it not for Quayle, SDI would probably be completely decimated. Moreover, he played an instrumental role in President Bush's ultimate tough stand on abortion. His weakness: He has yet to demonstrate a convincing independence from the Bush administration that will lead to his acquisition of stature, and thus create a viable national political base for himself.

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D **CRANE:** Sununu appears to be a competent manager, but has failed to mold a weak presidency into anything approaching a coherent program. A key role has been to trot him out before conservative fat cats to tell such whoppers as "every Bush Cabinet member has tried to reduce the size of his or her department, only to go before Congress and have the Democrats increase their budget."

A- **MORITZ:** Stands on principle; asks the tough questions. I informally polled Washingtonians on Sununu's relative lack of Washington experience; some believed his inexperience caused him to "get rolled" by more experienced Washington hands, but more felt Sununu had real clout and delivered on promises. Has given the views and perspectives on the nation's governors an increased hearing in the White House.

A- **PINES:** Competent. Fair. Candid. A fast learner. Keeps the White House working smoothly and the lines of communication open to the Oval Office, but also knows what is right and what is wrong—and says so. Best chief of staff since Sherman Adams.

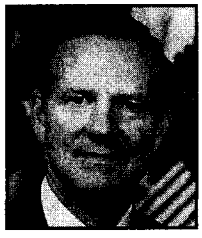
A **ROBERTSON:** One of President Bush's best decisions was his selection of Sununu as chief of staff. As governor of New Hampshire, Sununu kept his promise not to raise taxes. New Hampshire still has no income tax and no sales tax. By choosing Sununu for such a key post (perhaps the most important post in the administration), President Bush sent a strong signal that he is serious about his campaign pledge never to raise taxes. If he keeps this one promise, that would be a great achievement. In addition, Sununu has confounded the pundits by proving that an outsider can quickly become an effective Washington political insider.

A+ **WEYRICH:** In my 23 years of observing six administrations, Sununu has been the best chief of staff I have seen. He has maintained a sufficiently low profile; no one confuses him with the president. On the other hand, he has been sufficiently tough and decisive—there is no question that he speaks with authority. That is precisely the profile that a chief of staff ought to have. Unlike his previously advertised reputation, he enjoys a good relationship with members of Congress and has finessed many serious problems that would have severely undermined Bush's presidency. Weakness: He has been unable to weigh in effectively on any foreign policy questions because he simply does not have the stature in this area that Secretary Baker has and is therefore unable to represent the coalition that elected Bush in any negotiations involving foreign policy.

Chief of Staff

John Sununu

Secretary of State



James A. Baker III

C **CRANE:** There's something to be said for the civility a prep school background brings to international affairs. There is, however, no evidence that Baker has an overall strategy for responding to the collapse of the Soviet Empire or the spread of free enterprise in the Third World. State should have a conceptual thinker, not merely an accomplished political technocrat.

D- **MORITZ:** Jim Baker likes to hold his cards close to his chest, so it's impossible to evaluate their content. From this distance, however, they appear blank. This administration is reactive by nature, but is sometimes so out of touch on foreign affairs that it is not even prepared to react. The administration didn't have so much as a boilerplate ready on Berlin, and encouraged a coup in Panama but was clueless when it was attempted. Central America is a steadily growing disaster. If Baker cannot craft a better policy than undermining the Contras, trusting Jimmy Carter to monitor the Sandinista elections, and virtually begging Gorbachev to halt Soviet bloc aid, then he should resign.

B- **PINES:** High points for taking control of the department. Solid on China, Cambodia, Mexico, economic and trade policy. Pathetic on Central America, and possibly susceptible to quick START agreement for domestic political reasons. His Soviet policy, for which the jury is still out, could earn him solid "A"—or "C." Watch out for his disturbing support of international environment agreements that will strangle economic growth.

C- **ROBERTSON:** Baker's response to the massacre in Tiananmen Square was nothing short of disgraceful. His major concern seems to be rebuilding the U.S. relationship with Beijing, a regime with which free people have absolutely nothing in common. Secretary Baker should have immediately restored full diplomatic relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan, setting up a U.S. embassy in Taipei and allowing the ROC government to reestablish its embassy in Washington. Another low point

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was Baker's agreement with Congress over continuing aid to the democratic resistance in Nicaragua, in which he granted congressional committee chairmen veto power over the president's policy in Central America. This sets a dangerous precedent for congressional micromanagement of foreign policy and further undermines an already dangerously weakened presidency.

D **WEYRICH:** While any change was a refreshing improvement over George Shultz, Baker has been the greatest disappointment of the Bush administration. Known for his shrewdness and ability, the hope was that Baker would bring those skills to the State Department and revive America's credibility. Instead, he has contributed to further decline in credibility by assisting in the demise of the Contras, contributing to the bungle in Panama, and becoming a captive to State Department positions on most issues. Proved to have State Department-fashioned rose-colored glasses in dealing with the Soviet Empire, and has consistently given President Bush bad advice. Not living up to his potential.

F **CRANE:** He's wrong on every issue he confronts. He ignores the source of the S&L disaster (federal deposit insurance) to avoid "upsetting" the public. He seeks more regulation of the overregulated securities exchanges. He thinks underwriting the World Bank and IMF is his primary responsibility.

C **MORITZ:** Although George Bush's failed capital gains tax cut was never a sure thing, Brady's lackluster handling of the issue didn't help: Treasury's initial proposal lacked appeal to key constituency groups (for example, real estate and timber), which was necessary for passage, and Brady let key members know that he didn't consider this to be a high-priority issue. This undercut the work of both sympathetic members and the president, who has been called a "president of the rich" for advocating the cut. On the key issue of Latin American debt, the "Brady Plan" has a few strong points, but is also vague and unrealistic.

Secretary of the Treasury

Nicholas F. Brady

C **PINES:** Steady-as-she-goes style may be right for these times. Real test will come if there is a downturn. A flaccid advocate for Bush tax initiatives.

C+ **CRANE:** Highest rating in the Cabinet due to his recent willingness to make real (although inadequate) cuts in military spending, reflecting the new realities of East-West relations. Also, never bought into the disingenuous "Astrodome" hype of SDI. Needs to reassess his commitment to the outdated U.S. role in NATO.

A- **PINES:** Very good on the defense budget, arms control, NATO, and SDI. Only drawback was bowing to the services' timidity in the Panamanian coup attempt.

A- **ROBERTSON:** One of the shining stars in the Bush cabinet. In an age of budget deficits and limited defense resources, he has shown that there are weapons systems conservative Republicans can do without. He called on Congress to stop buying the F-14 in order to make room for a more modern fighter, and to cancel the V-2 Osprey tilt-rotor troop transport aircraft. Unfortunately, Congress was more interested in protecting constituent jobs than in giving the American people the best defense for their money. Congress restored these and other pork-barrel programs Cheney did not want, and cut back on SDI, the B-2 Stealth bomber, ballistic missile modernization, and other crucial weapons systems. Cheney's effective management of Pentagon dollars has presented President Bush with a superb opportunity to hit Democrats for wasting Defense dollars. He must be downgraded, however, for his role in the Panama fiasco.

Secretary of Defense

Richard B. Cheney

B **WEYRICH:** Cheney started out with a bang but he has not proven to be as effective an advocate for crucial defense decisions, such as SDI, as he was thought to be when appointed. Moreover, he has been slow to take creative initiatives and he has also not proven to be a major counterweight to Secretary of State Baker and NSC chief Scowcroft, even when he strongly disagrees with them. His style of deferral rather than hardball politics has made him an easy target. Has lent new sense of integrity to the Pentagon, which had been lacking. No one believes that Dick Cheney is owned by special interests. He's trying to achieve real procurement reform that won't damage the defense industry, and has been open to alternative viewpoints his predecessors wouldn't consider.

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C- **CRANE:** Although he deserves some credit for trying to rein in the RICO monster, he has yet to attack the problem head on. Worse, he seems to have signed off unreservedly on the administration's ill-advised "war on drugs," complete with its utter disregard for due process and much else in the Constitution. Thornburgh's record on judicial selection remains to be written.

A- **MORITZ:** Deserves tremendous credit for a willingness to make controversial decisions and appointments. Better advance coordination with the White House might have helped in the case of Bill Lucas's failed nomination for Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, but it's good to have an Attorney General with guts.

B- **PINES:** Hanging tough on particularly difficult civil-rights issues, stood strongly behind Bill Lucas nomination and Supreme Court decisions. But talk of harsh enforcement of antitrust laws could derail orderly reform.

A- **WEYRICH:** Thornburgh has probably accomplished more for the conservative cause than Ed Meese, precisely because he has a moderate image and yet has generally sided with conservative policies more than his predecessor. Has come down generally on the right, has been very responsive to the president's coalition, and has surprised many critics by managing the department well. Weakness: Has yet to come to grips with the out-of-control Criminal Division of the Justice Department, does not have breadth of conservative appointees that Meese had, and therefore must often overrule the advice of his subordinates.

Attorney General

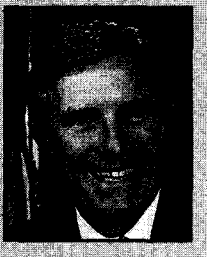
Dick Thornburgh

B **MORITZ:** Most of Mosbacher's policy decisions have been correct from a free-market perspective, but some of his rhetoric has been worrisome to those wary of a national industrial policy.

C **PINES:** Merits a charitable "gentleman's C," but would be lower if not for his advancement of a U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement and support for antitrust reform. Could end up getting an "F" because of his support for national industrial policy.

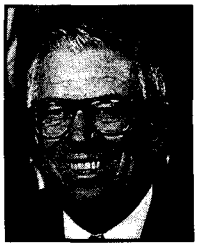
B **WEYRICH:** Mosbacher has restored a measure of credibility to the office of Secretary of Commerce that was lacking in his Reagan administration predecessors, who would roll over and play dead when confronted with foreign trade barriers. Mosbacher's close association with the president enables him to speak with considerable authority. Thus, when he acts, he acts with decisiveness. Does not understand sensitive defense issues, and is too sympathetic to transfers to our enemies that would help them technologically.

Secretary of Commerce



Robert A. Mosbacher

Secretary of the Interior



Manuel Lujan Jr.

D+ **CRANE:** Lujan seems oblivious to New Resource Economics and the role private ownership must play if we expect to accommodate both growth and environmental protection. As collectivists of every stripe take shelter under the Green Movement for their last stand, advocates of free enterprise deserve better at Interior (if we must have Interior).

D+ **MORITZ:** Perceived as a nice guy but a lightweight, Lujan gets an "A" for effort, but little else. Conservatives in his department either have been forced out or underground; liberal-to-left environmentalists have been making up the difference.

D **PINES:** Was a good congressman and did not want to be Secretary. It shows. Not an active participant in policy debates and not an effective coalition builder. The result: he abdicates Interior policy-making to EPA's William Reilly.

B- **WEYRICH:** Lujan has hired many fine people who have helped to make up for his own lack of skills and policy perspectives. The mark of a good man is someone who will know what he doesn't know and hire accordingly. Lujan has managed not to give up many of the gains his two predecessors made, but also has failed to carve up new territory, and appears to be much more reactive than proactive in resources and lands policy.

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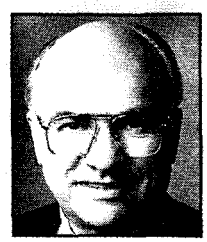
C **CRANE:** Perhaps the most market-oriented member of the Cabinet, Yeutter has thus far talked (mostly off the record) a better game than he's played. Still, even *talking* about getting the government out of agriculture makes him a standout in the Bush administration.

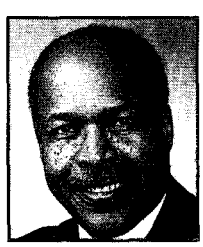
B **PINES:** His strong free-trade views, evident when he was Reagan's trade representative, are much in evidence at Agriculture. Wisely keeps out of headlines; any talk in Washington about farmers is costly for the taxpayer. The 1990 farm bill will be his final exam. Could get an "A" after that—or a "C."

Secretary of Agriculture



Clayton Yeutter

Secretary of Health and Human Services



Louis Sullivan

F **CRANE:** Okay, so we shouldn't expect a Bush HHS Department to adopt the Cato/Ferrara plan to allow young people to opt out of Social Security. But Sullivan's so bad he stumbled in front of his own administration's effort to repeal catastrophic care. If it weren't for the budget crunch, the big spenders would be pushing on an open door at HHS.

B+ **MORITZ:** Commendable loyalty to the president, even on tough issues like fetal tissue testing. Although there have been some complaints, he's made no really bad appointments, and seems to be learning the ropes. Could be a cabinet star if he tackles the (so far, largely ignored) key issues of Medicare and welfare reform with the kind of direction and visible enthusiasm Jack Kemp has demonstrated at HUD.

B **PINES:** Very much a team player, unlike his predecessor, and open to new thinking. Appointments have been first rate. Policy instincts good, but must break out of the OMB straitjacket and begin a serious debate over policy.

D **ROBERTSON:** At this early stage in his tenure, Sullivan is most famous for his recommendation that clean needles be distributed to drug addicts. The head of HHS, the largest government agency, needs to be a reformer, someone who understands why the war on poverty only served to create more poverty; someone who understands why medical care in America has failed; and someone who would consider creative ways to employ the private sector to provide for the health and retirement needs of America's elderly. Sullivan, a creature of the status quo, is not that person.

D+ **WEYRICH:** He does give a certain compassionate image to the Bush administration, which is welcome. He does not know the issues and is therefore prone to making policy mistakes. He is giving far too much weight to the bureaucracy and is generally over his head in running a department that size. His distinguished background as an educator is not sufficient experience to manage a department whose budget exceeds most independent nations'.

D **CRANE:** Barely got the drift on the minimum wage, much less the need to repeal restrictive labor legislation in the face of global competition.

C **MORITZ:** George Bush's capitulation on the minimum wage betrays hundreds of thousands of workers and belies economic logic. If Dole participated in this, its a "D-" for policy; if she was overruled on an illogical policy so important for her department, she gets a "D-" for effectiveness. On the positive, this is an aberration for a Cabinet secretary who genuinely cares about helping people and who had several substantial, creative, and workable policy initiatives as President Reagan's Secretary of Transportation.

Secretary of Labor

Elizabeth Dole

B- **PINES:** High points for leadership on child-care, but there is more to her portfolio than that. Good appointees not receiving bold marching orders. Seems unaware of *Beck* decision.

B+ **WEYRICH:** She has returned a sense of balance and fairness to the Department of Labor and is probably one of George Bush's most credible spokespersons. Has generally appointed good people, but has yet to take significant policy initiatives that will further deprive organized labor of the significant advantages it has enjoyed.

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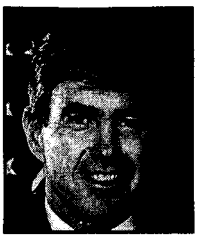
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development



Jack Kemp

D **CRANE:** Like Bill Bennett at Education, Kemp may be just the man to save and strengthen a useless cabinet position just when it was vulnerable to attack. Forget the free-market rhetoric of yesteryear, Kemp has become a technocratic social engineer of the first order. The manifest problems of the inner city won't be solved by tinkering with federal housing programs.

A **MORITZ:** Number-one public proponent of public–private partnerships, Kemp has done what few others have achieved: projected an energetic, forward-looking vision while keeping a handle on details. Kemp was swift to propose a plan to reform HUD, and right on the details: virtual ending of two of HUD's main programs for discretionary funding and increasing the share of funds going to the poor in the Community Development Block Grant program. His obvious sincere desire to help the economically disadvantaged is refreshing in a government official, and a Republican.

B **PINES:** An "A" student who is underperforming. Great quarterback with a great team, but game plan is uneven. Too eager to gain applause from building industry and Democrats in Congress.

C+ **ROBERTSON:** Until Jack Kemp quipped that he did not wish to be known as the "Secretary of Vouchers," I had high hopes for his tenure at HUD. I had anticipated the launching of a true conservative war on poverty, of which vouchers and economic opportunity would be a central feature. Just as we have found it makes far more sense to give poor people food stamps to spend where they like rather than building special supermarkets for the impoverished, so it makes sense for the government to get out of the construction business and instead provide vouchers to low-income people to use anywhere they please. Choice in housing is crucial for empowering the poor. Although Kemp has proposed more tenant management of public housing—certainly an improvement over centralized management by government—there is scant mention of vouchers in Secretary Kemp's $4.2 billion so-called HOPE program. More taxpayer money appears to be headed for the abyss at HUD.

B **WEYRICH:** Kemp has done a lot to reshape the view that conservatives have no interest in the urban poor and the inner city. His high-energy efforts will help his image and that of the movement for a long time to come. However, he has permitted the critics of his predecessor to dominate the political landscape and is therefore seen as much too reactive to them, rather than taking high profile initiatives that will really change things at HUD in the long run. Bureaucrats with their own agendas have too much of a say at Kemp's HUD.

Secretary of Transportation

Samuel K. Skinner

F **CRANE:** The "Master of Disaster" is a disaster. Dukakis would have rejected Skinner as hopelessly liberal. This Secretary of Reregulation should take his master plan for transportation over to Eastern Europe and try to sell it to the protest marchers. They could offer some pertinent advice. Mr. Skinner suffers from Hayek's Syndrome: the fatal conceit.

D+ **MORITZ:** No libertarian, Sam Skinner isn't shy about spending money or imposing regulations. He wants to spend billions in tax funds on light-rail trains, high-speed inter-city trains, and new airports; has threatened airlines with a federal takeover of scheduling and wants to limit federal transportation funds to localities that adopt stringent anti-auto regulations. (If you want tax dollars used to bribe local governments into enacting limits on parking garage construction and forcing hefty surcharges on all-day parkers, you'll like Secretary Skinner.) As a plus, Skinner is right to give top priority to proposals with at least 50 percent local funding. Works hard, developing a reputation as a Cabinet star among those who agree with his policies.

C- **PINES:** Insists that he is a champion of the free market and of deregulation, but his statements on these key principles are so whispered and so vague that they can be misinterpreted. He can clear this up in his forthcoming national transportation strategy document if it stresses that its aim is to build on the free-market gains of the past decade. Underestimates the power of his bully pulpit and his ability to marshal Capitol Hill support. His actions on airline leveraged buyouts remain an embarrassment.

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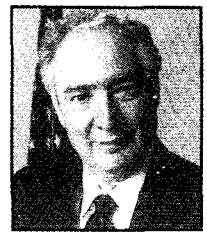
Secretary of Education



Lauro F. Cavazos

D CRANE: Pretty much reflects the thinking of the education bureaucracy, which is unenlightened. Cavazos' support of more spending reveals ignorance of what choice (*i.e.*, competition) is all about. By limiting "choice" to public schools he is undermining the growing choice movement and playing into the hands of the nefarious teachers' unions. His "D" is a result of grade inflation.

C MORITZ: Above-average marks for policy; low marks for effectiveness. Cavazos says choice is the "cornerstone" of his plans, yet during the September Education Summit choice was ignored in the president's opening and closing remarks, was related to only one of six topics addressed, was not mentioned in the final agreement, and its promotion was not among the summit goals. Further, Cavazos has failed to work on choice with any of the four states that have recently passed choice initiatives; nor has he worked effectively with members of Congress who seek to reduce federal impediments to choice currently embodied in federal law.

D PINES: Has no clear agenda or strategy, thus unable to motivate staff or mobilize Hill allies. Support for educational choice is half-hearted and too late to influence the debate.

D ROBERTSON: Lauro Cavazos' saving grace is he doesn't seem actually out to undermine President Bush's bid to become the Education President. As Secretary of Education, he has reluctantly endorsed President Bush's proposal of giving parents the freedom to choose the schools their children attend. But there is precious little evidence he is doing much to advance that idea in the public debate. He appears to see his principal audience as the National Education Association, an organization that has consistently opposed every effort by Presidents Reagan and Bush to reform the public education system. Until President Bush gets an education secretary whose personal mission is to break up the public school monopoly, expect little progress in education.

C- WEYRICH: He seems to have taken up the cause of choice in education with considerable vigor and for that he must be given credit. But unlike Bennett, he has placed education on the back burner in the national debate. Further, he has almost no philosophical frame of reference, and while he may come down correctly on individual issues, he doesn't do so with any political impact. He has permitted the bureaucracy to run most of the department again, which is something Bennett had stopped. He is an ineffective figure in the Bush administration.

Secretary of Energy

James D. Watkins

D+ CRANE: Gets a plus for having a low profile. Nevertheless, Watkins has shown no inclination to emphasize the market. Worse, his department floods innocent policy groups with Soviet-style posters proclaiming "Energy Awareness Week" and similar tripe. A big supporter of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, he needs to understand that oil is a fungible commodity.

C- MORITZ: Watkins has been criticized for the handling of his department, and it's no wonder: he's staffing it with colleagues from his stint as chairman of President Reagan's Task Force on AIDS. Frequent complaints: lack of knowledge about key energy issues, pandering to the Left and the nuclear establishment, ignoring the oil industry.

C- PINES: Surprisingly not innovative in the sole area qualifying him for the job—nuclear power. His announced willingness to consider a "National Energy Policy" should strike fear into the hearts of all Americans. Get ready for Watkins' gas lines.

Secretary of Veterans Affairs

Edward J. Derwinski

D CRANE: The only good thing Derwinski could do with this interest-group Cabinet post is resign.

A MORITZ: Derwinski has been tackling the tough and ultimately thankless job of applying an Rx to the military health system. He also looks out for the taxpayer. Aware that his portfolio is

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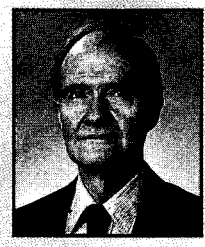
(Derwinski, continued)
both new and small by federal standards, he refused to permit aides to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars changing building signs from the old "Veterans Administration" designation. Government needs more of this kind of thinking.

B **PINES:** Teacher's pet. A very valuable, knowledgeable, and experienced conservative soldier who should be speaking out far more at Cabinet meetings.

A- **WEYRICH:** Derwinski has represented both the veterans and the administration well. As an old political hand in Washington who has yet to lose his principles, but doesn't need the job, he has proved indispensable in telling President Bush what he needs to hear. He has played an invaluable role in this respect. Weakness: in danger of suffering from a certain amount of clientitis in pushing for veterans' positions that may not be possible in a larger context.

National Security Advisor



Brent Scowcroft

B **MORITZ:** Picked to be an analyst, he's been one, significantly scaling back the policymaking function of the NSC from previous administrations. It's easy to see why Bush (and especially Baker) would want to avoid NSC turf battles (and accompanying media leaks), but, given the policy vacuum at State, the stronger NSC role is missed.

C+ **PINES:** Unable to make decisions. Apparently sees himself simply as a paper-flow manager. On the wrong side of the matter regarding Chinese dissident Fang Lizhi, who is taking refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. Very weak on SDI and uninterested in Central America.

C **WEYRICH:** He has coordinated the State and Defense Departments with the White House more effectively than many of his predecessors. However, creative foreign policy has occurred only when there has been a healthy tension between the NSA and Secretary of State. Has not proved to be effective counterweight to Baker, whose views dominate administration foreign policy. Has done little to bring in alternative points of view for the president to hear.

Director of the Office of Management and Budget

Richard Darman

B- **MORITZ:** Excellent at obtaining and maintaining power at the White House and over policy, low marks for disguising true deficit level. Short-term insider solutions such as moving large items off-budget (post office, savings and loan bailout) and altering payment schedules (Pentagon paydays, Medicare payments) postpone problems that must be solved. As a plus, Darman has recently expressed dissatisfaction with the use of budget gimmicks and may bring a more honest approach to future budgets. Has an extremely difficult job that is not made easier by the fact that OMB money-crunchers are making scores of policy decisions that would be more effectively made elsewhere.

A- **PINES:** The big surprise of the administration. Has been a hero on the tax issue and on holding congressional feet to the fire on Gramm-Rudman. Keeping the administration on track on macro-economic policy. Along with Kemp and Boskin, has been champion of free trade.

A **ROBERTSON:** Richard Darman, as White House budget director, deserves enormous praise for persuading President Bush to let the Gramm-Rudman axe fall. In so doing, he forced Washington, the land of fiscal make-believe, to face a budgetary reality. Darman knew the world would not end if government was forced by law to spend a little less than it would like. In fact, hardly anyone but Washington has noticed the sequester, which may have been Congress's greatest fear.

A- **WEYRICH:** Darman has surprised most of his critics by being one of the few people in the Bush administration who has steadfastly made decisions with the interests of the coalition that elected Bush in mind. His previous rough edges have been smoothed out, and he has proved an effective team member with Sununu and others. Weaknesses: he has yet to gain such confidence with Bush that Bush won't undercut him when he goes to make a deal with Congress. Often Darman has been sound in his approach, only to be undercut by his boss.

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Director of National Drug Control Policy

William J. Bennett

F **CRANE:** Bennett has been the worst of the high-level Bush appointees. Like too many neoconservatives, he views government as a benign force needing only right-thinking, strong leaders to appropriately reshape society. His mindless, costly "war on drugs" is killing young people, destroying the "tendrils of community" in our inner cities, and trampling our civil liberties and constitutional rights.

A- **MORITZ:** Much of the war against drugs will be won or lost on the average American's perception of casual drug use. This perception is changing, and an increasing amount of the credit goes to Bennett. Bennett's appealing combination of ardent logic and earnest morality is winning converts to the war on drugs, while his creative thinking is helping to find workable, affordable solutions. Bennett has $7.9 billion in 1990 to fight a $110 billion industry, but he's likely to make progress in this uphill battle. One minus: banning imported but not domestic assault rifles last March was hypocritical.

B **PINES:** Still too early to grade him, but unlike other top administration officials, who do little despite enormous agency resources at their disposal, has managed to get cooperation despite his small bureaucratic stick. Had the courage to call the Education Summit "pap" and is ready to fight for conservative issues.

A **ROBERTSON:** Bill Bennett is the perfect man to spearhead the war on drugs, and he has done the best he can with the tools he's been given. Unfortunately, some 75 congressional committees claim authority over the war on drugs, as do approximately 30 federal agencies. This bureaucratic nightmare, coupled with a criminal justice system that can't keep criminals in prison, does not bode well for Bennett's tenure. But if anyone can do this job, Bennett can.

A- **WEYRICH:** Bennett managed to get the Bush administration to adopt almost all the right moral positions in the drug war. He has yet, however, to show that he can cut through the bureaucratic mishmash and actually make things happen in a reasonable amount of time. That could prove a liability down the road.

Last-Minute Extra Credit for Panama Intervention

(TWO STARS MAXIMUM)

☑ President Bush

CRANE: no credit
MORITZ: ☆☆
PINES: ☆☆
ROBERTSON: ☆☆
WEYRICH: ☆☆

☑ Secretary of State Baker

CRANE: no credit
MORITZ: ☆☆
PINES: ☆☆
ROBERTSON: ☆☆
WEYRICH: ☆

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Life Without Father

America's Greatest Social Catastrophe

NICHOLAS DAVIDSON

Fifteen million American children, one quarter of the population under 18, are growing up today without fathers. This is the greatest social catastrophe facing our country. It is at the root of the epidemics of crime and drugs, it is deeply implicated in the decline in educational attainment, and it is largely responsible for the persistence of widespread poverty despite generous government support for the needy.

Raising a family without a father is not impossible. But it is exceedingly difficult—for reasons that go far beyond the loss of a father's financial contributions and the loss of another adult to supervise children and do household chores. Scholars such as Allan Carlson and Bryce Christensen of the Rockford Institute have been amassing substantial evidence that fathers play hard-to-replace roles in children's intellectual and emotional development, and conversely that father absence often leads to a host of psychological and cognitive problems. The difficulties of father absence can be overcome—many single mothers and their children have surmounted this adversity—but as a general rule children without fathers at home start with a strike against them.

Father absence is over twice as common as it was a generation ago, with no relief on the horizon. In 1960, 11.3 percent of children lived with their mother alone or with neither parent. By 1980, this number had risen to 21.6 percent, with almost all of the increase occurring in the 1970s. The Reagan-Bush years, for all their pro-family rhetoric, have seen only a slowing, not a reversal, of the trend toward father absence, which reached 24.5 percent in 1988 and continues to rise steadily.

Absence of fathers also goes a long way in explaining the continuing gulf between black and white America in the years since the civil-rights legislation of the 1960s. It has been almost impossible to equalize opportunities between the races when a black child is more than three times as likely as a white child to live without a father, and when the percentage of black children living without fathers has soared from 27.7 percent in 1960 to 58.4 percent in 1988.

Nonetheless, the toll taken by father absence has not been limited to black America. Three-fifths of America's fatherless children are white, and the percentage of white children living without fathers has more than doubled since 1960, from 8.7 percent in 1960 to 18.2 percent in 1988. Father absence is growing among Hispanics as well, from 23.1 percent of Hispanic children in 1980 to 30.8 percent in 1988.

Fifteen Million Casualties

Of the 15 million children without fathers, some 5.4 million are the product of divorce, 3.3 million the product of marital separation, and 4 million the product of illegitimate birth. (The remainder live with their widowed mothers or neither parent.) The biggest increase has come from the spectacular rise in out-of-wedlock births, which were almost unheard of a generation ago but now account for 23.4 percent of births as of 1986, including 61.2 percent of black births. There are also 4.5 million more children living with a single divorced parent than there were in 1960. The number of divorces has tripled during this period, from 400,000 to 1.2 million a year, with more than half of the breakups involving children under 18.

The "feminization of poverty" resulting from the increase in divorce and illegitimacy has received widespread attention. Slightly more than half of America's poor are single mothers and their children. Families headed by single mothers with children are 6.5 times more likely to be poor than husband-wife families with children. Forty-six percent of families headed by single mothers are classified as poor, versus 7 percent of husband-wife families with children. The difficulties of juggling work and children, severe enough for married women, are even more onerous for single women. Finding husbands for these mothers would be the single most effective strategy for sharply reducing the incidence of poverty. Not only do fathers typically bring home more income than mothers; even fathers without jobs can lend a helping hand and take some of the pressure off working mothers.

Recent books such as Judith Wallerstein's *Second Chances* have shown that in most cases divorce is emotionally

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devastating for children. Wallerstein found long-lasting feelings of rejection, disappointment, rage, guilt, and confusion among children of divorce. And even though the children she studied had considerable contact with their fathers, with fathers genuinely trying to play a part in their children's lives, "three out of four of the children feel rejected by their fathers." Even frequent visitation, Wallerstein concludes, does not replace the day-to-day presence of the father in the home.

Obviously there are exceptions—examples where children make healthy adjustments, and cases where a divorce, though hardly ideal, is better for the children than a severely troubled marriage. But scholarly literature tends to confirm that, as a rule, divorce leads to serious damage.

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For example, divorce seems to be a major factor in youth suicide, which is the second leading cause of death in the 15-to-24-year-old age group. The suicide rate among white American males between the ages of 15 and 24 has increased by 50 percent since 1970. In a 1987 article in *Social Work*, researchers John S. Wodarski and Pamela Harris linked the increase in suicides to the proliferation of single-parent households. Similarly, a study of 752 families by researchers at the New York Psychiatric Institute, reported in the *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* in 1988, found that youths who attempted suicide differed little in terms of age, income, race, and religion. However, the researchers found that they were "more likely to live in nonintact family settings."

Lower IQs

The damage from father absence is not confined, though, to the economic and household difficulties of single motherhood and the emotional trauma of divorce. Mounting evidence suggests the importance of fathers for children's educational performance and intelligence, as well as for their emotional stability and obedience to the law.

A 1968 study by researchers from Bowling Green State University and Columbia University compared the American College Entrance Examination scores of 295 students from father-absent homes with those of 760 students from father-present homes. The researchers found that father absence has a "dramatic" negative effect on scores. After examining numerous variables, they concluded that this discrepancy could not be explained by differences in income. Henry Biller of the University of Rhode Island has conducted extensive work on the educational effects of father absence and published several books on the subject. In a study of third-grade boys in 1971, Biller discovered that the boys who had been father-absent from an early age received lower grades and scored lower on every achievement test than the father-present boys. This result was especially striking in that Biller had matched every early father-absent boy with a father-present boy for "essentially identical characteristics of age, IQ, socioeconomic status, and presence or absence of male siblings." Dozens of studies have arrived at similar results, pointing to several consistent conclusions: The negative effect of father absence on educational attainment occurs regardless of income level. As Sheila Krein and Andrea Beller of the University of Illinois concluded in a 1988 study of 2,500 young men and women: "Even after taking into account the lower income in single-parent families, the absence of a father has a significant negative effect on the educational attainment of boys."

A major study in 1979–1980, commissioned by the National Association of Elementary School Principals, examined the academic records of more than 18,000 students in 14 states. The researchers concluded that "one-parent children on the whole show lower achievement in school than do their two-parent classmates." The study also found that boys' overall attainment suffers somewhat more from father absence than girls'.

While father absence reduces both mathematical and verbal skills, mathematical skills suffer the most. Several studies have found that the decline in mathematical ability is especially severe among father-absent girls. It has long been documented that women tend to excel at verbal skills, men at quantitative and spatial ones. Many investigators of father absence, including Lyn Carlsmith of Yale University, author of a pioneering 1964 study, believe that the particularly strong link between lower math scores in children and father absence is a consequence of this male aptitude for mathematics. Apparently, fathers tend to help children develop the thinking skills that lead to success in mathematics.

These studies suggest that the decline in American

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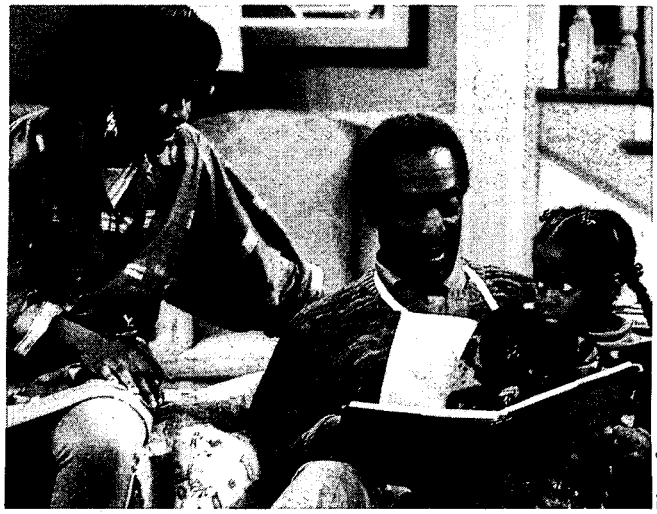

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The decline of American educational performance may have more to do with the disappearance of fathers than the quality of schools.

educational performance over the past generation—most especially in science and math—may have more to do with the quality of families than with the quality of schools. As Bryce Christensen has concluded in his newsletter, *The Family in America,* "students coming from strong families manage to learn even in weak schools."

A number of studies have shown that children with fathers at home have higher IQs than those without them. As Henry Biller reports one such study, "Among lower-class junior high and high school children, those who became father-absent before the age of five, and particularly before the age of two, generally scored significantly lower on measures of IQ (Otis Quick Test) and achievement (Stanford Achievement Test)."

These effects occur regardless of race and class. In a 1981 article, the child psychologist Norma Radin points out that among blacks, father-present children show a clear tendency to outperform father-absent children on cognitive tests by the late elementary school years.

Nor do income differences explain these cognitive discrepancies. For example, R. B. Zajone, in a 1976 article in *Science,* reported consistent "deficits in the intellectual test performance of fatherless children," which persist even "when comparisons are made within a single socioeconomic stratum." As Marybeth Shinn of the University of Michigan concluded in her 1978 survey of the literature on father absence: "Although a drop in income doubtless contributes to the detrimental effects of father-absence on children's cognitive development, income differences alone have not accounted for all of the effects in a number of studies surveyed."

Higher Rate of Mental Illness

Father absence also plays a role in psychological troubles. Psychiatrist Alfred A. Messer has studied "father hunger" among boys—"sleep disturbances, such as trouble falling asleep, nightmares, and night terrors [that coincide] with the recent loss of the father." According to Messer, the period between 18 and 36 months is when a boy "learns to establish his physical and gender role identity." "If the young boy is deprived of the father's presence," Messer says, "the result can be deeply traumatic." A 1987 study of the preschool children admitted to two New Orleans hospitals as psychiatric patients over a 34-month period, reported in the *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry,* found that nearly 80 percent came from fatherless homes. Similar percentages prevail among seriously disturbed adolescents. For example, a 1989 study of teenagers discharged from a Canadian psychiatric hospital, conducted by Helen S. Merskey and G. T. Swart, found that only 16 percent were living with both parents when they were admitted. A variety of studies, from nations as diverse as Finland and South Africa, have reported that anywhere from 50 to 80 percent of psychiatric patients come from broken homes.

More Violent

As these data suggest, the pathology of the father-absent family extends deeply into the larger society.

Most gang members come from female-headed households. In his new book, *The Search for Structure,* Francis Ianni documents that street-gang members typically come from "single-parent families where the mother had been unable or unwilling to establish adequate behavioral controls over her male children." This pattern has been found in several different countries. In a 1987 article in the *American Journal of Sociology,* Robert J. Sampson and W. Byron Groves analyze data from hundreds of British communities. They establish a direct statistical link between single parenthood and virtually every major type of crime, including mugging, violence against strangers, car theft, and burglary.

As in Britain, father absence in America correlates strongly with violent crime. A study by Wray Herbert, reprinted in *Psychology Today* (January 1985), found that "90 percent of repeat adolescent firestarters live in a mother-only constellation." A 1987 study by Raymond A. Knight and Robert A. Prentky of 108 violent rapists, all repeat offenders, found that 60 percent came from single-parent homes. And a Michigan State University study of 72 adolescent murderers in 1987, reported in *Behavioral Sciences and the Law,* discovered that 75 percent of them had divorced or never-married parents.

Poverty alone does not explain all of these effects. Indeed, poverty may not explain any of them. A 1988 study by Douglas A. Smith and G. Roger Jarjoura, which was reported in the *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* analyzed victimization data on over 11,000 individuals from three urban areas in different parts of the country (Rochester, New York; Tampa-St. Petersburg, Florida; and St. Louis, Missouri). They discovered an extraordinary fact: The proportion of single-parent households in a community predicts its rates of violent crime and burglary, but the community's poverty level does not. Once the proportion of single-parent households in a community is taken into consideration, Smith and Jarjoura found, "The effect of poverty on burglary rates becomes insignificant and slightly negative." Simply put, poverty does not cause crime. Neither does race. "The percentage of non-whites in an area," Smith and Jarjoura report, has "no significant influence on rates of violent crime." They point out that "many

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studies that find a significant association between racial composition and crime rates have failed to control for community family structure and may mistakenly attribute to racial composition an effect that is actually due to the association between race and family structure."

Little Self-Control

From a variety of causes, father-absent children tend to be more disruptive, more violent, to have less self-control, and to pose more of a challenge to authority (other than the authority of their peer group, to which they are singularly subject).

Boys who lack a steady male role model are prone to aggravated doubts about their masculinity and often respond with "hypermasculine" behavior. As Patricia Moran and Allan Barclay found in a 1988 study presented in *Psychological Reports*, father-absent black delinquents "were more overtly masculine in their expressed interests and behavior" than father-present black adolescents. Like many researchers, these authors believe that delinquency represents an attempt to compensate for the absence of fathers.

It has been widely documented that single mothers have extreme difficulty in controlling adolescent sons. For example, according to a 1987 North Dakota survey reported in the *Child Study Journal*, unmarried mothers complain in particular of a lack of obedience from their children. Indeed, Mabel G. Wells, writing in *Family Therapy* in 1987, has reported that single mothers are often the victims of abuse by their adolescent children.

According to Freudian theory, fathers and mothers play distinct and equally essential roles in children's psychological development. The father is responsible for the formation of the "superego," or conscience. In this regard, the father's exercise of arbitrary authority is essential. The child learns to obey the father's orders not because the father is right or can explain his orders intelligibly, but simply because they are his orders. In other words, the child obeys his father because he must obey his father, not for any other reason. This experience is crucial. By internalizing this arbitrary exercise of paternal authority, the child acquires the ability to subordinate his own manifold and contradictory desires to longer-range purposes. In short, he acquires a conscience. Thus, Freudian theory predicts that a child lacking a father, or whose father is excessively permissive, will lack an adequate amount of self-control, and will be the victim of his own impulses.

Increased Drug Use

Fathers play a particularly important role in preventing drug use. As a UCLA study, published in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* in 1987, points out, "inadequate family structure" makes children more susceptible to drug use "as a coping mechanism to relieve depression and anxiety."

Another UCLA study, reported in 1988 in the *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, has concluded that, although "mothers are more active than fathers in helping youngsters with personal problems...with regard to youthful drug use, [the] father's involvement is more important." Among the homes with strict fathers, only 18 percent of children used alcohol or drugs at all. In contrast, among mother-dominant homes, 35 percent had children who used drugs frequently.

Studies from around the nation confirm the connection between drug use and father absence. A study by Ted Napier, Timothy Carter, and Christine Pratt, reported in *Rural Sociology* in 1981, examined high school students in rural Ohio. These researchers found a significant link between adolescent drug use and separation or divorce. Similarly, Carmen N. Velez and Jane A. Ungemack, in a 1989 study of drug use among Puerto Rican youth, found that drug use was more common in non-intact households, most of which were female-headed. In 1980, a research team led by Alfred S. Friedman investigated the patterns of drug use among 2,750 adolescents in drug-treatment programs. Friedman and his co-researchers uncovered a highly significant statistical relationship between parental separation or divorce and degree of adolescent drug use.

Father absence encourages drug use not only through its negative effects on emotional well-being and household discipline but also through its corrosive effect on community structure. As Robert Sampson and W. Byron Groves point out in their study of British communities and crime: "Two-parent households provide increased supervision and guardianship not only for their own children and household property, but also for general activities in the community. From this perspective, the supervision of peer-group and gang activity is not simply dependent on one child's family, but on a network of collective family control."

It has been almost impossible to equalize opportunities between the races when a black child is more than three times as likely as a white child to live without a father.

Thus, subcultures of father absence provide drugs an easy entry point into society at large—one that is virtually uncontrollable by police methods. In communities of intact families, laws can be reliably enforced. But if a government undermines the institution of fatherhood, it finds itself faced with a task of maintaining order far beyond its abilities. The authority that is no longer exercised by fathers must then be assumed by government. But it is impracticable to replace active consciences, paternal discipline, and community control with a police presence on every corner, in every schoolyard, in every home. In a father-absent society a war against drugs is unwinnable; any serious attempt to do so points in the direction of a police state.

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Life without mother isn't so great, either.

The evidence on father absence renders obsolete the notion that men's contribution to family life is exclusively monetary. Indeed, poverty is probably the least destructive aspect of father absence. More serious and longer-lasting, both for the individual and society as a whole, is the role of father absence in producing educational and cognitive deficits, mental illness, drug use, and crime. Fathers play crucial, gender-specific roles in the intellectual and emotional development of their children. Therefore, the negative effects of father absence cannot be eliminated by increased aid to single mothers. Dollars can't replace daddies.

AFDC and Welfare Reform

Similarly, workfare and other "paternalistic" approaches to welfare reform do not address the central problem, because they do nothing to restore the father to the family. On the contrary, adding day-care and guaranteed jobs on top of the existing matrix of cash payments, food stamps, subsidized housing, and free medical care would tend to encourage the further proliferation of fatherless families.

Any serious attempt to reduce father absence must confront the perverse set of incentives created by the subsidization of single motherhood.

Any serious attempt to reduce father absence must confront the perverse set of incentives created by the subsidization of single motherhood. Father absence is a terrible thing to inflict on a child. Yet, beguiled by social support for single motherhood, approximately one million unmarried girls and women give birth each year. The majority of these pregnancies cannot be attributed to accident or ignorance of contraception; on the contrary, almost 60 percent of single mothers bear more than one child, suggesting volition.

The solution to out-of-wedlock birth is not single motherhood, but adoption. Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) was initially intended for families made destitute by the death or desertion of a husband. Would it be too much to announce that henceforth, AFDC will be denied to mothers who deliberately give birth to and raise a fatherless child—or at least to those who do so more than once? Would this be more—or far less—heartless than denying fathers to a vast and growing number of American children?

Reduction of father absence must also involve some reform of divorce laws. With no-fault divorce and a general emphasis on maternal custody, men can escape their obligations to their children too easily; they may be hit with child-support payments, but they can scrimp on their more important contribution, namely time. The current combination of easy, no-fault divorce with maternal custody and mandatory child-support payments by fathers likewise gives women too great an incentive to file for divorce, and in fact two out of three divorces in America are initiated by wives. These incentives could be shifted by returning to traditional fault standards for divorce—adultery, abuse, and desertion; by shifting to joint custody or even the 19th-century practice of father custody, a remedy that discouraged both fathers and mothers from filing for divorce; and by limiting mandatory child-support payments to cases where fathers have clearly been at fault.

None of this is to suggest that mothers are any less necessary than fathers. Current public policy properly recognizes the deep biological and nurturing bonds between mothers and children, and the indispensable role that mothers play in their children's development. The mistake of public policy is to minimize, and in some cases actually discourage, the father's equally important contribution.

The intact family is the center of society. There is nothing mysterious about the immediate sources of social disintegration: it is caused by laws that undermine the family. It can be reversed by replacing those laws with better ones. ☎

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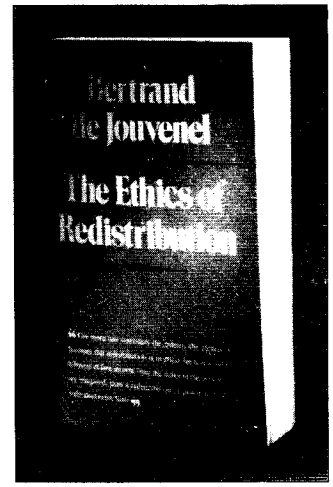

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Please Abolish My Job, Mr. Kemp

Confessions of a Public Housing Administrator

Paul H. Messenger

On the knuckle of my left forefinger is a small scar. I got it from the lid of the pot-bellied coal stove that heated our public housing unit in Hammond, Indiana, back in the '40s. Families had to pay their own way in those days—there was no welfare—and I don't know how my mom managed. She had me, her mother-in-law, and my baby sister to handle on the allotment from my father's Army pay; and she had to pay the rent every month or we would be out, to make room for another working-class family on its way up the ladder. But she did manage, and in 1951 my dad put down the first payment for a house of our own.

For the past 10 years, I have run public housing authorities in Springfield, Ohio, Little Rock, Arkansas, and again in Ohio, in Akron. Often I wonder whether the time for these institutions hasn't come and gone. Back in Hammond, dads were off at the war, like mine, or working in the steel mills. Public housing was a temporary way station for people saving every penny to get a leg up. Now, rather than onward and upward, we have the spectacle of two and three generations of public assistance in tenancy, even under the same roof. We have 17-year-olds, already with three children, on welfare, waiting for their own public housing unit. Many tenants openly mock the notion that they should be working and saving so as to be able to get off public assistance. In the project outside my office window in Springfield I once watched a dozen able-bodied men and women grilling T-bone steaks and pounding Budweisers on a weekday afternoon.

The project where I once lived was rough but safe. I played soldier with the other kids and was proud of my toy pistol, a couple of clothespins that my mother had clipped together. Children at the projects I run today carry MAC-10s, breakstock shotguns, and 9mm automatics. Real ones. Recently a 15-year-old was picked up carrying a shotgun, an auto-mag, and a long knife. He was holding vials of crack and a couple of thousand dollars. This fall, at another Akron project, there was a fatal shoot-out between two men, neither of whom lived there. We can sympathize with public housing tenants terrorized by the drug gangs, but we also have to face up to the unpleasant reality: the dealers are there because the users are. One reason there's so much gang warfare in projects is that the market opportunities are enormous for the dealer who wins a monopoly there.

From Workfare to Welfare

To restore public housing to its original design, liberal as it was then, would now be viewed as a reactionary conservative proposal. You mean people have to be employed to receive the benefit? You mean they have to be married? You mean they have to abide by the rules without five layers of due process? And they have to pay the rent on time every time? What an old-fashioned idea. It wasn't too long ago, though, that public housing mainly served low-income working families who needed a boost along the way and who paid their way in the meantime.

In the '50s and '60s, welfare clients were made eligible and the influx began. In the '70s the Brooke Amendments artificially limited rent to 25 percent of adjusted tenant income, later 30 percent of income, and very nearly bankrupted public housing until some genius figured out that public housing authorities could not manage and maintain property without income. Thus began the era of "operating" subsidies, running now at almost $2 billion a year. Add to this the nearly $2 billion a year for capital improvements since Brooke wiped out most public housing reserve accounts. Most recently, the Reagan "safety net"—limiting benefits to the lowest income people—has for all its good intentions wrung out all but the last few working (and rent-paying) families from the program. We have created an enormous network of welfare-dependent government housing colonies, for which most working families are no longer even eligible.

Many tenants actually "pay" negative rent: in very low-income families, after the rent calculation and

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The Beacon Journal/Akron, Ohio

Over 4,500 families are on the waiting list for subsidized housing in Akron. With vouchers we could provide more assistance in less time with lower overhead.

deduction for utilities under the Brooke formula, we arrive at a minus number. That amount goes to the family each month in the form of a check for occupying the apartment. In HUD Newspeak we call this a "Utility Adjustment Payment." In our public housing program here in Akron we have nearly 700 tenants living rent-free in addition to receiving monthly checks totaling $1.7 million annually. In our Section 8 program, more than one-third of the accounts carry negative rents. As just one example, we have a mother with six children on welfare living free in a $612-per-month, five-bedroom unit, receiving in addition a check from us each month for $66.

Public housing is now just an extension of the welfare system, and like other aspects of this system, the benefit structure has become too attractive for many people to try to work themselves out. A lady in Springfield struggled on and off to get through technical school, finally succeeded, and got herself a job at something just above minimum wage. We dutifully raised her rent based on the new income and wished her well. She was back in two months saying she "had" to quit her job and wanted a rent reduction. She laid out for us in two columns the cash and in-kind benefits under welfare compared with the working income and benefits, and it was true: she was better off financially on the system than employed. In Akron during the winter months we offer residents $6.00 an hour to shovel snow and get no takers. On one of our property rehabilitation jobs the contractor hired one of the tenants at $19.00 an hour (your Davis-Bacon wage laws at work), but when he found out his rent based on income would go to over $600 per month he quit the job. Employment comes and goes, but the system is forever. We offered a job applicant an entry-level clerical position at about $14,000 a year; she was on the Section 8 program (privately leased, subsidized housing) and when she heard what would happen to her rent she declined the position. In Little Rock we asked a pregnant 12-year-old how in the world she would be able to care for her baby. Her answer: "Just like Mom. The check comes every month."

HUD's Nasty Little Secret

The nasty little secret of subsidized housing is that far too few of those who are legally eligible are actually helped. Under HUD guidance, many public housing authorities limit their waiting lists to a year's turnover. The rationale is that we should not get people's hopes up unnecessarily; the real agenda, I think, is to avoid the embarrassment that shows up in all those numbers of families not helped. But demand for public and other subsidized housing is much higher than the official numbers.

I found this out some years back when I opened (and

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left open) the waiting list in Springfield. People stood in line out the door and around the block to apply. The list went from less than 100 to over 1,000 in a short time. I did the same thing in Little Rock, and the list grew from about 100 to nearly 2,000. In Akron, people camped out at our door overnight to be in line, and the list has gone from several hundred to over 4,500 and still counting.

It's no wonder the projects are so popular: Public housing authorities provide many services that have nothing to do with housing. And this raises a fundamental question of equity: How do we explain that one family gets housed, has very low rent or gets a check each month, has access to meals programs, recreation programs, community facilities, child care, training programs, and a range of other services provided or sponsored by the housing authority; while another family, equally eligible and equally needy, pays 70 or 80 percent of income for rent, lives in overcrowded housing or in their car, or bounces from one shelter to another waiting for a call to say they have been selected for housing? The standard answer is that the government should build more housing. Wrong. The government should make some sense out of the way it provides housing assistance.

Public housing is now just an extension of the welfare system, and like other aspects of this system, the benefit structure has become too attractive for many people to try to work themselves out.

Vouching for Vouchers

The linchpin of a simpler and more equitable method of providing housing assistance is the housing voucher. The voucher, properly implemented, would put the purchasing power directly into the hands of the needy family. Since assisted housing is already part of the welfare system, it would be appropriate to issue the vouchers through the existing welfare agencies rather than to continue supporting separate agencies such as public housing authorities. This step alone would remove a large part of the bureaucracy associated with the administration of subsidized housing. It would also relieve one of the milder nuisances of the current housing process, which requires housing applicants to repeat the eligibility paper chase for housing they have already gone through for the welfare department. We know all along that if they are eligible for welfare, they are eligible for subsidized housing. Put both decisions in the same place.

With vouchers we could provide the most assistance in the least time with the least overhead. The current application and occupancy process requires the satisfaction of dozens of regulatory and procedural requirements and the corresponding time to accomplish them. In the larger public housing authorities, which account for about 80 percent of the units nationwide, a "case" may be handled directly or indirectly by as many as 20 bureaucrats before the housing is occupied or the assistance is provided. The process is fraught with delays that would be eliminated with vouchers.

More important, with vouchers we could help more people. Here in Akron, for example, our annual outlays for all programs amount to some $44 million; with those funds we assist about 8,500 families. The standard that HUD employs for allocating some of its funding—average rent for a two-bedroom unit—is running locally at $300 per month or a bit more. Converting to vouchers at that rate would permit us to help more than 12,000 families. None of this includes the capital cost of roughly $55,000 per unit that we usually have to spend either for construction or acquisition and rehabilitation.

Simply eliminating much of our bureaucracy would go a long way toward helping people. For what it costs to train our Akron staff in the ever-changing HUD rules, we could house a dozen families. The cost of our annual financial audit would house another 14 families. Our fees for lawyers would help more than 40 families. The amount we pay for employee benefits (not counting wages and salaries!) would help 250 families.

Public housing and other direct government construction programs are the least timely, least efficient, and, judging by what has become of many of them, the least effective way to meet the need for housing assistance. The HUD rules themselves allow for a three-year lead time from approval to completion of construction, and there are projects out there approved as many as three, four, and five years ago that have yet even to begin construction.

Twelve Inches of Rules

The conversion to vouchers would focus on the two major housing subsidy programs. The first is the Section 8 Certificate program for existing housing, in which there are about a million units now. In this program the tenant is issued a Certificate of Eligibility, which he takes to a private landlord, who agrees to sign a contract and is then paid directly by the public housing authority to subsidize the family. Sounds simple enough, but it is choked by paperwork. The leading vendor of training for the program conducts three-day seminars and provides two loose-leaf binders, each six inches thick, of rules, regulations, policies, forms, do's, don'ts, and maybes.

The Section 8 Certificate program has two major flaws. First are so-called Fair Market Rents (FMRs), which put a cap on what may be paid to subsidize a given sized apartment. The FMRs are determined nationally based on data from various market areas, and are supposed to follow the local rental market. In fact, they give landlords an incentive to drive up the rents, which in turn drives

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up the subsidies.

The second flaw in the Section 8 Certificate program is the Housing Quality Standards (HQS). These standards represent the hoops a landlord must jump through to get a property approved for the program, all contained in a multi-page booklet. Often a family satisfied with a property is denied assistance with the unit until it meets our standards. To understand how HQS works, imagine a bureaucrat at the end of every grocery checkout analyzing food stamp purchases and sorting out what the family can and cannot be permitted to buy.

Incidentally, there is already a Section 8 "Voucher" program, but it is subject to the same bureaucratic red tape as the Certificate program. Rather than Fair Market Rents we have Housing Payment Standards (HPS), and the units are still subject to Housing Quality Standards.

The answer to the Section 8 program is conversion to a true housing voucher with the elimination of HQS, HPS, and FMRs. Remove Big Brother as a costly middleman and let rents settle where the market would have them. Let tenants and landlords manage their lease arrangements as is done in the real economy, and let local government meet the responsibility for housing code enforcement.

Privatize the Projects

The other major candidate for conversion to vouchers is the public housing program itself, which now includes about 1.5 million units. This is the current, codified program for public construction and management of low-income housing, with the Public Housing Authority (PHA), a local citizen board, presumably in charge for each jurisdiction.

Conversion would require disbanding the PHAs and their associated bureaucracies, and putting the responsibility into private management. Current tenants would be issued housing vouchers. Many would take the opportunity to vote with their feet and get out of public housing at the first chance, especially when the projects are stripped of non-housing services and nearly automatic continued tenure. However, the (formerly) public housing units would also remain in use, if only as a residual resource, and tenants could use vouchers here as well. The Feds would continue to buy down the public indebtedness (that is, construction bonds) already incurred, because private managers could not absorb that debt and remain solvent. Taxpayers will have to assume this obligation for decades, whatever we do; the total bill will be in the tens of billions. But under private management no more such debt would be incurred.

Under private management, rents would be set at something approximating a workable cash flow. This could be done by averaging the current rents and subsidies on a per-unit basis, stripping the irrelevant overhead and non-housing costs, building in some obvious management economies, and arriving at a new rent based on reality. Family income considerations—now the driving factor—would be handled at the welfare department. The lease with the new management would be a market transaction.

The private management company could be a tenant management corporation, of course, but I confess some doubts about how widely successful the tenant management movement will be. Kimi Gray's Kenilworth-Parkside and Bertha Gilkey's Cochran Gardens both required major infusions of cash to become the successes they are now considered. At $50,000 a unit, it would take $75 billion to follow this model for public housing nationwide. Already there are rumblings from other tenant management groups about not getting the kind of money that went into the "success" stories. However, the critical issue may well not be the money, but the street-level leadership and commitment, which, frankly speaking, isn't always there. Tenant management should be encouraged and implemented where it will work. But we cannot put all our eggs in that basket and expect to turn public housing around in the near future. The alternative is private management companies, and the objective is to remove the housing from the public domain.

No Cocoons for Rent

Conversion of the entire public housing program to a private, voucher-paid enterprise would have a number of specific advantages:

•**Demolitions.** Thousands of public housing units currently stand vacant, vandalized, boarded up, and useless. Many are centers for drug trade, prostitution, gang activity, and garden-variety street crime. The HUD rules keep them that way. It is surprising that in some of these cases city mayors have not simply gone in with their own wrecking balls and bulldozers; the cities are theirs to run, not HUD's. Under private management these public nuisances would almost surely go.

•**Bidding versus Negotiating.** Compared to the burdensome, convoluted public bidding process, a moderately astute person in business could negotiate contracts for products and services in a fraction of the time and at considerable cost savings. In the process of installing additional security lighting in one project, we had to get some trees cut down or trimmed. We had to wait for HUD to issue a Davis-Bacon wage "decision" before the tree work could begin, and it will take another one for the lighting itself. For the simple task of purchasing a fax machine, we had to get written quotes from at least three vendors, and then we waited two months for the item to get to us on a slow boat from Germany. A businessman could have done it in a day. Under private

We cannot put all our eggs in the tenant management basket. At $50,000 a unit, it would take $75 billion to follow the Kimi Gray model nationwide.

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Paul H. Messenger

This $612-a-month house is occupied by a mother with six children on welfare. She pays no rent and the housing authority sends her a $66 check every month to cover utilities.

management the purchasing process would be simpler, more open, more effective, and less costly.

•**Risk Management.** Public housing authorities have been paying confiscatory insurance premiums because of the presumed access to the taxpayers' deep pockets. Under private management this issue might be tempered with some reason.

•**Tenant Assignment Plans.** Freedom of choice ends at the doors of public housing. Once families have completed the application process and are deemed eligible, they are placed on a consolidated waiting list (with all its nuances). When finally called, they are "assigned" to units based more on the needs and rules of the housing authority than on their housing needs: take it or leave it. Under private management they could apply at the developments of their choice and the management would have an incentive to be competitive.

•**Transfers.** Mr. and Mrs. Average American must plan for a new arrival to the family. Do we have enough space? Can we afford to move to larger space? Do we live with some overcrowding? No problem in subsidized housing. Family additions automatically qualify the family for larger housing. At an administrative hearing in Akron, we discovered a guy who rattled off 17 of our addresses at which he claimed he "stayed" and who bragged about fathering children in each place. In Little Rock there was a legendary fellow who it was said had fathered no fewer than 45 children—all on welfare. As for the women, to portray them as victims is dishonest. They are making their own choices. A woman at one of our Akron projects, by her own admission, got pregnant again to avoid having to move to a smaller unit. Along with the obvious moral and economic consequences, these folks need to start calculating their housing needs into such decisions. Under private management we would get out of the musical chairs game for the underhoused, the overhoused, and the bogus "hardship" cases.

•**Evictions.** The normal process in the private sector takes a matter of days, or a couple of weeks at most. The public housing administrator is faced with three-day, 14-day, or 30-day notices, two levels of administrative "due process" and then the judicial process with Legal Aid scratching tooth and nail each step of the way. To his credit, Jack Kemp has recently moved to simplify things by using a previously ignored provision in the housing legislation. Even at that, too many local judges and referees view us as the housing of last resort, and bestow rights on public housing tenants far in excess of those available to working families in private housing. As a housing administrator, I probably spend half my time dealing with arcane rules and policies from HUD, the state and local bureaucracies, and courtroom litigation gone bonkers. Last September, we lost a case in arbitration over denying a transfer to someone who claimed a hardship because of her child's asthma. The arbitrator ruled we should provide her a dust-free environment. I don't know where we will move her; we don't have any cocoons for rent.

•**Elderly and Handicapped.** Housing for the elderly in public housing is actually for elderly and handicapped. It is difficult enough to manage the mix of often younger physically handicapped with the elderly; they simply do not share the same life-styles. But Congress had to make it worse. The movement to "deinstitutionalize" the mentally ill has led mainly to displacement without aftercare, and estimates run to over 400,000 people in this category. Congress "solved" the displacement problem by declaring these folks handicapped for purposes of subsidized housing program eligibility and priority. To put it bluntly, we now have the mentally deranged running the halls with frail 80- and 90-year-old occupants. Even if you buy into the argument for "mainstreaming," are these elderly people the appropriate mainstream for a 30-year-old mental case? Under private management, with relief from the idiotic rules, a niche can be found for problem tenants, while the elderly can remain secure.

•**Tenant Services.** What started as a simple effort to teach people how to clean house and use flush toilets has grown to the point where the public housing authority is expected to serve *in loco parentis* for its tenants. The range of services the PHA is supposedly responsible for includes day care, literacy training, law enforcement, drug abuse programs, nutrition, job training, employment, tenant councils, gerontology, psychology, homemaking, budgeting, transportation, recreation, travel tours, and whatever somebody thinks up tomorrow. We don't do a very good job at this. Under private management we would get back to managing housing without the diversions of time and resources to managing tenants' lives.

•**Public Employee Unions.** Work rules make twice as many people necessary. Davis-Bacon wage floors make twice the wage rates necessary. Under private management, neither would be necessary.

•**Performance Funding System (PFS).** After the Brooke Amendments, when operating subsidies hit the big time, HUD dreamed up the PFS. It did little more than codify the inefficiency and inflated costs that already existed, and they have been carried forward through subsequent HUD administrations. There has been some marginal tinkering with PFS, but the attitude at HUD seems to be that the system is so screwed up it

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is better to leave it alone. One of the anomalies of public housing is that the worse a public housing authority has done, the more money it has attracted from HUD. Under private management, the good managers could manage and the rest could pay the price.

Expanding the Market

How do we pay for vouchers and private management of public housing? Private management operates on the rents it collects. The voucher money comes from several sources. First is the $2 billion a year we currently spend for operating subsidies (PFS). Second is the $2 billion a year we currently spend for modernization and rehabilitation of properties (which, incidentally, helps only those currently in occupancy—not those outside waiting.) Third is the $6 billion to $7 billion a year it will take to renew the old Section 8 Certificates that will expire beginning next year. Bear in mind, here, I am not necessarily talking about saving money; I am talking about a more rational use of the funds we already have. The appropriations mentioned should provide a tidy sum for start-up.

It might be necessary to offer some limited or short-term tax abatement for the private management companies, particularly those that agree to take on the worst of the public housing stock. It may also be useful to restore some of the tax advantages to private landlords on their investment property as an inducement to keep their properties in the market for voucher holders.

As a supplement to housing vouchers we should provide relief to employed low- and moderate-income families with a tax credit for housing costs. Comparison with the tuition tax credit for education is useful. Let's not forget the folks who are trying to do things right. Strategically, the tax credit should be made more attractive than the voucher, because it encourages an employment income for eligibility and removes the stigma of the dole, which a voucher still would be.

There are already thousands of eligible people, on waiting lists or not, for whom assistance is neither available, nor likely to be soon. A total voucher program as proposed would not only cover those already under assistance, but also many of those still waiting or joining the waiting lists every day. As long as they are only on the waiting lists, they represent a useful abstraction for those intent on the same old programs and methods. With vouchers in their hands they would increase real economic demand as opposed to abstract political demand.

Under current economic and financial conditions, the market would not always respond well to the new purchasing power of voucher holders. This is particularly true in those municipalities that persist with counterproductive rent-control ordinances. However, the answer is not a resumption of federal loans and subsidies for development and construction, either directly or through agents such as the public housing authorities. There are other ways to generate expansion of the housing stock without direct federal participation or intervention (with all due respect to President Reagan, who didn't like using the tax code for "social" purposes). Individually or in combination, here are some possibilities:

- Expand the capacity of the states to issue tax-exempt residential development bonds.
- Renew and simplify the tax-credit financing of low income housing, rather than complicating it further as is now proposed.
- Put more teeth into the existing Community Reinvestment Act, which mostly gets only lip service. Perhaps groups of thrift institutions could share in the higher risk loans for inner-city development and rehabilitation.
- There are major housing development and preservation provisions in the S&L bailout legislation (one of the few hopeful notes). Properly enforced by the Justice Department and FDIC or other regulatory agencies, these provisions will assist both rental housing development and homeownership.
- Limit or remove capital gains taxes on residential income property ownership, management, and transfers.
- To attract the capital necessary, restore the tax-deferred Independent Retirement Account as originally conceived. IRAs have represented one of the few tax breaks for ordinary working Americans, and about the only one for non-homeowners. IRAs also introduced a rate of saving in America that has not been seen since.

Encouraging development and preservation of housing through modifications of the tax code can generate (and has generated) more housing in less time than any direct federal construction or development process. In addition, such methods will better assure that some reasonable underwriting standards for finance, market analysis, and management will be employed, particularly with voluntary depositors' funds at risk rather than the deep pockets of the taxpayers. This is the way to avoid scandals such as those currently unfolding at HUD.

From Bureaucrats to Entrepreneurs

Clearly it is time for a reappraisal of taxpayer-subsidized housing. We need to stop turning relatively normal people into "clients." We need to reach more of the actually needy, minimize the overhead of running the current programs, substitute market transactions for public directives, restore some sense of responsibility and motivation to those helped, and remove the consultants and developers from any direct role.

The best way to achieve these goals is to convert current subsidized housing programs into voucher programs. This is not a new idea, but it might be a bit unusual for one who has spent over 20 years in the government housing industry to suggest we throw the whole thing out and start over.

Given my own provenance, the question has to occur: what happens to all of us housing bureaucrats when our jobs are eliminated by vouchers?

The answer, I guess, is that we form our own private management companies. If we are as good as we claim we are, business should be brisk.

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The Things Money Can't Buy

South Dakota Gets More Education Than It Pays For

Patricia Summerside

The next time somebody tells you money is the *sine qua non* of educational improvement, remember South Dakota. My state ranks dead last—51st—in average teacher salary. It does only slightly better (43rd) in expenditures per pupil. Judged by teachers' union criteria, South Dakota should be in the educational cellar.

But South Dakota's 1988 ACT scores rank fifth among the 28 states that take the test. Its high school graduation rate ranks 12th. Its 1989 SAT scores are the third highest of all states, although this is suspected to be largely because of the small number of students that take the test in South Dakota. Nevertheless, South Dakota again placed third when Daniel Seligman of *Fortune* magazine used statistical techniques to adjust SAT scores for percentage of eligible students taking the test.

South Dakota's lowest recent ranking—23rd—is on a list devised by Robert Lehnen of Indiana University by using one of several possible formulas to convert ACT scores to SAT scores. He concludes that spending on education is important for the rankings. But even 23rd is a long way from 51st.

Test scores do not tell us everything, but they tell us something. And as long as educational policy is made primarily at the state level, states will be compared with one another. Several other states—most notably Iowa, New Hampshire, and Nebraska—share South Dakota's combination of relatively high student performance with relatively low teacher salaries and per-pupil expenditure. So it's worth exploring why we get more education than we pay for.

Teachers No Better

You can't chalk it up simply to teacher quality. South Dakota teachers are probably above average in work ethic and in their capacity to keep caring about kids—the burnout syndrome is comparatively absent here. But in knowledge and skills they are your normal teacher mix—good, bad, and indifferent.

Nor do we place enormous emphasis on academic achievement. Many schools here don't require enough homework, especially in advanced reading and writing. The educational atmosphere is also a little complacent and parochial—as former governor Bill Janklow found when his proposal to require a foreign language for college entrance caused a storm of public outrage.

Nor is this state's populace highly educated by formal criteria—South Dakota ranks 32nd in median years of schooling among adults. And the people aren't rich: we're 45th in per capita income.

But South Dakota's schools have three things going for them: families are strong and stay together; schools are small and are centers of community life; and old-fashioned values such as hard work, responsibility, and self-discipline still dominate.

But Families Are Strong

South Dakotans think they are family oriented. Statistics agree. In 1988, South Dakota's marriage rate was a high 18th among the states, its divorce rate a low 39th. Its birth rate was a high 15th, its abortion rate a low 44th. Its percentage of AFDC recipients was 41st.

Other low-spending, high-performing states share some of these patterns, especially low divorce rates. Divorce is not always devastating to children, but it often is. And many women raising children have done a magnificent job, but that job would be easier if shared with a responsible husband.

Stable families facilitate educational achievement by providing two things that every child needs in order to have enough confidence in himself and those around him to function well: secure emotional bonding to adults, and a social environment that is safe, orderly, and predictable.

Kids here are subject to the same temptations and distractions that affect adolescents elsewhere—drugs, alcohol, sex, cults—and some succumb. But because fewer are in emotional pain from home situations, fewer seek the illusory relief offered by not-so-great escapes.

Bigness creates problems for all human groups. As a bureaucracy grows, it loses external accountability. It becomes insulated from the community it ostensibly serves. Apparently, educational bureaucracies are no

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exception. Herbert Walberg of the University of Illinois and William Fowler of the National Center for Education Statistics have found that small school districts and small schools produce higher student achievement than do large ones. This finding is striking, because large schools have economies of scale that enable them to provide better equipment, more diverse course offerings, and higher salaries. That these obvious advantages seem to be offset by the subtler disadvantages of bureaucratization reminds us that there is more to human beings than social planners ever dreamed.

Bigness can be a problem for informal social support networks, too. For instance, when parents don't know their children's friends' parents well, they can't present a united parental front with other parents—thus they become more susceptible to the old "but everybody else gets to" ruse, and they will not be as quickly aware of group problems that arise, such as a set of friends getting into the habit of drinking too much.

South Dakota is fortunate that most of its communities and schools are small. Some are very small indeed: we still have 91 one-teacher schools and 51 two-teacher schools in the state. Only two of the state's school districts have more than 5,000 students. There is even a small schools association to represent the interests of small schools before the legislature.

I asked two college classmates now teaching in small South Dakota schools how they like it. One teaches her town's entire seventh grade: 11 students. The other teaches art in all 12 grades of her town's school system, which has 137 students. Both said they don't like it. They love it. One said, "The staff is my second family, and when we know a student has a problem, we don't sit back and let it happen. We try to figure out how to help. I know we've pulled some students through that way."

With this kind of social support system, it's no wonder that our students in small schools perform well: In fact, in a 1985 study, South Dakota high schools having between 51 and 75 students had higher Stanford Achievement Test results than any other size category in the state.

Such a school is often the focus of community life: Nearly everyone turns out for school plays, concerts, and football games, regardless of whether they have children in school. As much as a fourth of a local newspaper like

South Dakota is third in SAT scores, 51st in teacher salaries.

the *Onida Watchman,* the *Vermillion Plain Talk,* or the *Bennett County Booster* may be school news, profusely photographed. My hometown newspaper publishes the honor rolls and perfect attendance lists each quarter. It must be difficult for students, teachers, and administrators not to feel that all eyes are upon them.

Thus, institutions that are small in scale tend to improve accountability. The dense social network of a small

Maynard Greenfield

Small schools produce higher student achievement than large ones. South Dakota has 91 one-teacher schools like this one, and 51 two-teacher schools.

town cannot be replicated elsewhere, but ways to mimic it could be explored. Urban Asian-American parents, for instance, have shown that it can be done.

Old-Fashioned Values

When I asked South Dakotans "What is the greatest strength of education in this state?", most answered, "Our work ethic." Employers around the state are fond of saying, "In South Dakota you get a day's work for a day's pay." Maybe even more. In 1988, South Dakotans worked the longest average work week of any state, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Unemployment is low; work force participation is high.

By whatever historical process, the people around here have come to expect a lot of themselves and of one another in the areas of responsibility and self-discipline. I think it's partly because the relative absence of entrenched social classes—and of extremes of wealth and dependency (with the tragic exception of the Indian reservations)—gives people hope that a little extra effort really will open doors. And probably also because it's so difficult to elude accountability where people's lives are so tightly intertwined.

Children grow up taking these mutual expectations for granted, and parents and school personnel likewise share the same norms of behavior. A principal's authority is seldom undermined by a parent, or vice versa. It's not surprising that a national teacher survey showed more

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discipline problems in urban areas. That's probably why school officials in my town were amused this fall when a family that had just arrived from an East Coast metropolis anxiously inquired about hall guards and police protection for school grounds.

Obviously, many schools in the United States do not enjoy the large blessings and small curses of being embedded in a community whose members share a reasonably wholesome consensus. But some researchers say the next best thing to being in such a community is to create one within the school walls. The evidence from Catholic schools—and from public schools with strong principals, strong collective identities, and/or strong "school cultures"—shows that, far from tyrannizing students, they liberate students: from "lowest-common-denominator" peer pressures, from chaotic home situations, and from being forced to make decisions they are not ready to make.

The lesson is not that money doesn't matter. It's that the best way to improve schools is through stronger families and communities.

Just as uniform standards of conduct liberate students, so do uniform standards of achievement—albeit with flexibility in time frame and teaching strategies to help different students attain those standards. For instance, many schools in South Dakota are too small to fragment into separate "tracks" for the college bound, the vocationally bound, and the apparently unbound. This turns out to be serendipitous, for urban schools that resist tracking also get better results. Research by James Coleman of the University of Chicago shows Catholic high schools putting most of their disadvantaged students on an academic track, where they succeed—the same students that the educational establishment says have "different needs," which means "lower potential."

Fiscal and Nonfiscal Inputs

The lesson from South Dakota is not that money doesn't matter. If South Dakota increased its spending on schools without hurting families or community values, its educational level would probably be even higher. As high as our students' achievement test scores are, their ability test scores are even higher—indicating that many of these students are "underachievers." In hopes of remedying this, 38 schools around the state are currently trying a plan designed to raise their underachievers' performance.

But for many other schools in America, spending levels are already high. Their best hopes for improvement lie elsewhere. To some extent, what our small communities have enjoyed without conscious design, other communities can imitate on purpose. Small schools and small districts can be created. Stable patterns of intensive interaction among teachers, students, and parents can be established to capture some of the benefits of smallness within large institutions. Increased parental choice among schools can allow each school to define its own culture within a pluralistic framework.

Many of the other reforms being tried in the states—alternative certification, teacher minimum competency testing, student minimum competency testing, stiffened course requirements, teacher pay incentives linked to student performance, and state intervention in educationally bankrupt districts—are clearly emergency measures for emergency situations. States that traditionally have done well, including South Dakota, have few of these reforms in place. Student and teacher minimum competency testing and stiffened course requirements are partial exceptions: each is found in about half of the high-performing states.

This does not mean that such reforms are ill-advised. Where the educational system has a dead battery, it needs first of all to be jump-started. Many states in educational trouble also have large numbers of children in poverty, and school reform may help establish a positive dynamic for self-improvement.

But states like South Dakota tell us that the best way to improve schools is to build a sound social infrastructure. We can't expect a student to be excited about learning if her school is a diploma mill or his personal life is in chaos. That's why strong families that stay together, small schools that are community centers, and old-fashioned values produce educational achievement.

Families, small schools, and old-fashioned values are very probably the most effective institutional incubators for many other desirable social outcomes as well, from low-crime neighborhoods to productive economies to civil public discourse. If we really want these things, we cannot afford to take their prerequisites for granted.

We cannot pretend that all life-styles are equally valid or that the answer to every social problem is more government bureaucracy. We have to give healthy, small-scale, time-tested social institutions our active support; we have to consciously resist their political erosion and their cultural delegitimization. Otherwise, we will be trying to grow plants without roots. Then, as C. S. Lewis prophesied, we will "continue to clamor for those very qualities we are rendering impossible."

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TRADE SECRET

The Global Import Boom No One Talks About

BRINK LINDSEY

America may be winning the Cold War, but according to a now fashionable line of thinking, it is already in danger of losing the peace. The era of military confrontation with the Soviet Union is ending, to be replaced, so the argument goes, by a period of *economic* confrontation with our erstwhile allies—most notably, Europe and Japan. The emergence of the new dispensation is supposedly well underway. In this scenario, the old multilateral free trade system, anchored by a dominant United States, is coming unglued; at the same time, rival protectionist blocs are beginning to coalesce.

The United States, meanwhile, is purportedly vulnerable in this new era because of its continued and anachronistic attachment to free trade. The fear is that by maintaining open markets while the rest of the world hides behind protectionist barriers, the United States is committing the economic equivalent of unilateral disarmament. If America is to survive as a great power, say these "economic nationalists," it must learn to play by new rules: in other words, industrial policy at home, and "managed trade" (that is, import and export quotas) abroad.

This picture, for all its drama, rests on a gross misreading of recent international developments. From all the alarmist rhetoric pouring out of Congress and the press, one would think that the great expansion of international trade during the '50s and '60s is now in full reverse, that protectionist barriers are being thrown up all over the world, and that the flow of goods and services across national borders is drying up.

In fact, the opposite is true. During the past five years—while Japan-bashing and obsessing over the trade deficit have become national pastimes—the world has been experiencing a sustained trade boom that rivals any in the postwar era. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, import barriers during this time have been falling in many parts of the world, including, of all places, Japan. The astonishing figures in the table on page 59 show that from 1986 to 1988, import growth was several times faster for many of America's leading trading partners than it was for the U.S. Even in absolute dollar terms, the import rises in Japan and West Germany were almost as large as in America.

Moreover, initiatives at the national, regional, and global levels are making prospects look bright for further and dramatic liberalization of trade, extending the free trade principle to sectors of the world economy never before covered. These trends are well known in the business and financial worlds, but in political circles they remain all but ignored.

A Tale of 3 Trillion

From 1983 to 1988, the volume of world trade in merchandise grew 34 percent, or an average of 6.1 percent a year—up from a sluggish annual pace of 2.8 percent from 1973 to 1983, but in line with growth rates of 6.1 percent from 1953 to 1963 and 8.9 percent from 1973 to 1983. ("Volume" figures in this article come mainly from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT, which adjusts the value of world trade in dollars to take account of both inflation and currency fluctuations.) Far from slowing down or going into reverse, world trade has thus returned to the pattern of robust expansion during most of the period after World War II. The total value of world trade in merchandise in 1988 was estimated at $2.88 trillion, of which approximately $730 billion were attributable to growth after 1983.

This expansion in world trade is running far ahead of growth in the world economy generally. Since the 1982 recession, world output has been growing at an annual rate of around 3.75 percent; trade volumes have been expanding half again as quickly. This fact signifies two important trends. First, it suggests that the trade boom—with its resulting increases in competition, specialization, and economies of scale—is leading the worldwide economic expansion. Second, it means that the international component of world economic activity is growing; in other words, markets are truly becoming global in scope.

What drove the '80s trade boom? Five contributing factors stand out: in the United States, brisk increases in both imports and exports; the Japanese export boom,

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now accompanied by a flood of new imports, particularly manufactured products, coming into Japan; a phenomenal trade expansion in the rest of East Asia; dynamic trade growth in the European Community (EC), particularly at the intraregional level; and rapid growth in services trade.

Yankee Expansion

Everyone is familiar with the American appetite for imports. The volume of U.S. imports in 1987 was 64 percent higher than it was in 1980. In the mercantilist mind-set, this looks like some sort of catastrophe. The simple truth, though, is that these imports have given Americans a better standard of living. VCRs, Walkmans, stereos, high-performance automobiles, microwave ovens, low-priced fabric, clothing, and shoes—these are among the benefits of America's open markets. Moreover, these imports are doing more than simply feeding a consumption binge; between 1986 and 1988, imports of capital goods accounted for nearly two-thirds of the growth in U.S. import volumes. Finally, the excess of imports over exports during this decade has a flip side, namely net inflows of foreign capital. This capital has built new plants, created jobs, and helped to fuel America's longest-running peacetime expansion.

Turning to the other side of the balance of payments ledger, the United States has also experienced an export surge since the dollar began its fall in 1985. From 1986 to 1988 the volume of U.S. exports increased at an annual average rate of 14 percent. By contrast, import volume increases averaged 8.5 percent during the same period.

Import Craze in Japan

The trends in U.S. imports and exports are well known, if frequently misunderstood. Japan, on the other hand, has made sweeping changes in its trading practices that have gone almost completely unnoticed here at home. For many years, Japanese policy has been to encourage export industries as the key to economic growth generally. The policy has been undeniably successful: Japan's share of world exports has climbed from 6.4 percent in 1973 to 9.2 percent in 1988 (third behind West Germany and the United States), while in overall output this small and resource-poor nation has attained the rank of an economic superpower. In particular, from 1980 to 1985, exports from Japan increased in volume by 42 percent. Since the yen began to strengthen in 1985, though, Japan has been restructuring its economy toward a greater reliance on domestic demand (as opposed to export performance) as an engine of growth. The result has been a massive infusion of imports.

With the endless tirades against Japanese protectionism and "unfair trade" practices that dominate discussions of our trade deficit, one can be excused for imagining that Japanese markets remain impenetrable, or that any liberalization undertaken under pressure has been more or less cosmetic. Although Japan's merchandise surplus is still in the neighborhood of $80 billion, the volume (currency-adjusted) of Japanese imports jumped almost 40 percent from 1985 to 1988, while export volume rose by only 5 percent. With manufactured goods, the numbers are even more dramatic: the volume of imports shot up 80 percent between 1985 and 1988. A few specific examples of this explosive import growth are worth relating. In 1980, 8.8 percent of the Japanese market for sewing machines had been won by foreign products; by 1987, that percentage was up to 30.5 percent. Foreign-made black-and-white televisions comprised only 1.5 percent of the market in 1980, but had jumped to 54.4 percent in 1987. And for that quintessentially Japanese product, the 35mm camera, import penetration rose from 7.7 percent in 1980 to 46.6 percent in 1987.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

High-performance televisions, VCRs, stereos, automobiles, microwave ovens, low-priced fabric, clothing, and shoes–these are among the benefits of America's open markets.

Dragons' Leap

Although American exports to Japan have been on the rise, the main sources of Japan's import surge have been the "Newly Industrializing Economies" or NIEs—South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore (more colorfully known as the "Four Dragons")—and such emerging Southeast Asian nations as Thailand and Malaysia. The percentage of total Japanese imports accounted for by these six countries virtually doubled between 1982 and 1988. Many of these imports are produced by Japanese-owned companies that have moved operations overseas and are now shipping back to Japan, a development that has led to the coining of

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the ungainly expression "JapaNIEse goods."

The trade boom emerging in these East Asian countries is truly phenomenal. Exports have been skyrocketing: in 1987 alone, annual export volume grew 24 percent for South Korea, 14.5 percent for Taiwan, 32 percent for Hong Kong, 19 percent for Singapore, 17.5 percent for Thailand, and a "mere" 8.5 percent for Malaysia. The Four Dragons' share of total world exports was over two-and-a-half times greater in 1988 than in 1973. And increasingly these exports are destined for other countries in the region rather than the United States or Europe. For example, the U.S. accounted for 24.8 percent of Hong Kong's total exports in 1988, down from 33.2 percent in 1984. During the same period, Hong Kong's exports to the rest of Asia rose from 33.6 percent of total exports to 41.6 percent. Among the Four Dragons, exports to other "dragons" generally grew faster in 1988 than exports to the rest of the world.

In the United States, protectionism has been on the rise. We have import limits on textiles and clothing, steel, cars, machine tools, ceramic tiles, cheese and other dairy products, sugar, and peanuts.

These exporting powerhouses have also been experiencing sharp import growth. Thus, the volume of total imports in 1987 grew 21 percent for South Korea, 30 percent for Taiwan, 32 percent for Hong Kong, 14 percent for Singapore, 30.5 percent for Thailand, and 12 percent for Malaysia. This surge in imports is powered not only by strong economic growth, but also by conscious steps to open domestic markets to foreign competition. Hong Kong and Singapore have long been free-traders, but now countries such as South Korea and Taiwan are beginning to liberalize their import policies, too. South Korea's average tariff rate has gone down from 23.7 percent in 1983 to 12.7 percent in 1989, and will ultimately drop to 7.9 percent by 1993; furthermore, virtually all existing import restrictions (mainly concerning agricultural products) are scheduled to be phased out by 1997.

Thus, East Asia supplied much of the impetus behind the '80s trade boom, and in particular trade within the region has been growing by leaps and bounds. It would be a mistake, though, to see in these trends the emergence of a regional trade bloc that will shut itself off from the outside world. Despite the strengthening of intraregional ties, these countries remain highly dependent on an open world trading system. For all the major exporters in the region, the United States remains the largest single market. Japan ships some 70 percent of its exports outside Asia, and receives 70 percent of its imports from outside the region. Exports to and imports from the United States, Canada, and the EC account for 45 percent of South Korea's total trade. It would be economically disastrous for East Asia to try to go it alone. Furthermore, fears of a return of Japanese hegemony are enough to keep other East Asian countries desirous of maintaining good relations outside the region to counterbalance Japan's influence.

Good-bye Eurosclerosis

Although East Asian trade is rising fast, the European Community remains the world's premier trading region. Total exports of the 12 EC members in 1988 accounted for approximately 40 percent of world exports. Intra-EC trade was the largest component of this picture, amounting to about 60 percent of total EC exports, or 23 percent of world exports. Intra-EC trade is not only larger in amount than trade with third countries, it has also been more dynamic. While exports to and imports from third countries each rose only 8 percent in volume from 1980 to 1987, intra-EC exports and imports increased 28 and 31 percent, respectively, during the same period. From 1988 through 1990, intra-EC exports are projected to continue climbing in volume by an average of 7.5 percent a year.

Trade outside the region, though, remains extremely important to the EC. Exports from EC members to third countries in 1988 constituted 16 percent of world exports, far more than the total exports of either the United States or Japan. In dollar figures, extra-EC imports and exports exceeded $880 billion in 1988. Despite all the talk about the threat of a "Fortress Europe," the EC's stake in keeping trade channels open is enormous. Moreover, although growth in intraregional trade has caught the most attention, it is by no means the whole story behind the EC's trade boom. For instance, between 1986 and 1988, growth in the value of EC-Japan trade outpaced growth in intra-EC trade, while the value of trade between the EC and the Four Dragons grew faster still. Such trends are hardly consistent with the scenario of a brewing trade war between rival European and Asian blocs.

All told, the old image of "Eurosclerosis" no longer applies. With an investment boom in full swing, real output increasing at over 3 percent a year, and 2 million net new jobs created in 1988 alone (with another 2.5 to 3 million expected for 1989-90), Europe looks positively vital. This growth is pushing and being pushed by the expansion of international trade.

Silver Services

All of the statistics in this article up to now have had to do with merchandise trade, or trade in goods. The other major component of the world trading picture is trade in services, which until recently received little attention and for which reliable figures are still scarce. Despite the sketchy data, though, developments in services trade clearly played a vital role in fueling the '80s boom.

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Traditionally, services trade was concerned predominantly with the movement of goods and people across borders—shipping, port services, passenger travel, and tourism. In the past few years, though, technological innovations and changing patterns of production have created trade in services—for example, telecommunications, advertising, insurance, banking, and construction—that formerly were confined within national boundaries. These forms of trade are still so novel that current methods of balance of payments reporting (the best source of data on services trade) continue to lump these services into the catch-all category "other private services and income." Growth in this category has been vigorous and sustained: since 1970, the value of "other private services and income" worldwide has been expanding at the rate of 15 percent a year, outpacing not only other services but merchandise trade as well. This former loose-change category is now the largest single component of the international services sector, accounting for some 40 percent of its overall value.

Services trade as a whole has been estimated at $560 billion for 1988. This figure is almost certainly too low, given that some countries do not report certain service items, and that other services (such as those transmitted electronically, or those between corporate affiliates) often escape detection under current tracking systems. Even so, $560 billion represents approximately 20 percent of the total value of 1988 merchandise trade, or roughly the entire value of world food and fuel exports.

Third World Opening

Not only is world trade in its seventh year of vigorous growth, but the developments in international markets that are driving this expansion show no signs of abating. Technological progress continues to shrink the economic distance between countries. Reductions in transportation costs (for example, through the advent of containerized shipping) make foreign goods more competitive, and advances in communications (such as the fax machine) allow services needed in one location to be performed on the other side of the world. New production strategies are also integrating the global economy and creating new opportunities for trade. Businesses are increasingly internationalizing not just their sales but their production operations as well. At Hewlett-Packard, for instance, control over design, manufacture, and marketing of different products is spread among divisions located around the world. A West German plant oversees fiber-optic test equipment, while an Australian division has responsibility for computer-aided engineering software. Japanese automakers, meanwhile, have set up "transplant" production facilities in the United States,

Opening Markets

Recent Import Growth in Selected Countries

Country	Total 1986 Imports (Millions)	Total 1988 Imports (Millions)	Dollar Increase 1986-88 (Millions)	Percent Increase 1986-88
Canada	**$ 83,308**	**$108,878**	**$ 25,570**	**30.7%**
Hong Kong	**35,360**	**63,900**	**28,540**	**80.7**
India	**18,421**	**24,310**	**5,889**	**32.0**
Italy	**99,925**	**138,518**	**38,593**	**38.6**
Japan	**127,660**	**187,483**	**59,823**	**46.9**
Malaysia	**10,828**	**16,567**	**5,739**	**53.0**
Mexico	**12,319**	**27,546**	**15,227**	**123.6**
Singapore	**25,513**	**43,869**	**18,356**	**71.9**
South Korea	**31,734**	**51,433**	**19,699**	**62.1**
Spain	**35,056**	**60,518**	**25,462**	**72.6**
Taiwan	**24,160**	**49,582**	**25,422**	**105.2**
United States	**387,075**	**459,910**	**72,835**	**18.8**
West Germany	**191,068**	**250,554**	**59,486**	**31.1**

Source: International Monetary Fund

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Nearly half the 35mm cameras bought in Japan today are imports.

and are now moving into Europe. Honda now plans for its U.S. plant to export up to 50,000 cars a year back to Japan. This trend toward global operations stimulates greater specialization in the production process, which in turn creates trade links uniting various stages of the process.

One of the most promising developments involves economies that have struggled during the '80s but are now beginning to open their markets in the hope that this will lead to prosperity. Since 1985, Mexico has reduced its maximum tariff from 40 percent to 20 percent, abolished official import prices and a 5 percent umbrella import tax, and lifted import licensing requirements for 95 percent of tariff items. Mexico's total imports have more than doubled in dollar value since 1986 (imports from the United States are up 250 percent).

India, although targeted by the United States as an "unfair trader" under the new Super 301 law, has also made important strides toward liberalization. In the past few years India has reduced or eliminated import duties on machinery, and has significantly cut the list of products subject to restrictive import licensing. India's 1988 imports from the United States jumped 70 percent in dollar value over the previous year (total imports increased 19 percent).

Brazil, another "unfair trader," has itself begun to move away from the import substitution model of development in which it has tried to encourage substitution of foreign goods with local products by erecting huge tariff barriers. The average tariff rate has dropped from over 50 percent to around 30 percent, and the list of prohibited imports has been pared down from 4,500 items to about 1,000. Brazil's import numbers remain stagnant, though, in the midst of balance of payment difficulties caused by its foreign debt crisis.

At the regional level, both the recent U.S.–Canada free trade agreement (FTA) and the EC's single market program are advancing the cause of international economic integration. The U.S.-Canada pact not only provides for the eventual elimination of substantially all bilateral tariffs on merchandise trade, but also tears down many nontariff barriers to trade in the agricultural, automotive, energy, and service sectors. Furthermore, the agreement liberalizes the rules of foreign investment, facilitates business travel between the two countries, and establishes special bilateral dispute settlement mechanisms.

The EC, for its part, abolished all its internal tariffs by the end of the 1960s. Nonetheless, nontariff obstacles have continued to block the full economic integration that has been the long-term goal of the Common Market since its founding in 1958. In order to fulfill the Treaty of Rome's original promise, and at the same time to jump-start Europe's flagging economy, the EC Commission in June 1985 issued a White Paper on "Completing the Internal Market" that proposed measures to eliminate various barriers to trade.

Proposals included abolishing national quantitative restrictions, removing restrictions on capital flows, establishing nondiscriminatory procedures for government procurement, reconciling differing technical standards that act as barriers to trade, harmonizing taxation, and eliminating border controls. The White Paper set a deadline for completion of the project by December 31, 1992—hence the initiative's nickname "EC '92." At present, agreement has been reached on over half of the 279 proposed reforms.

Regional Free Trade Not a Threat

While both the FTA and EC '92 have been cited as evidence of the breakup of the world trading order and the emergence of rival protectionist blocs, this interpretation does not stand up to scrutiny. These initiatives hardly represent a sharp break with the past. The United States and Canada have long had the world's biggest bilateral trading relationship, and even before the free trade agreement some 75 percent of trade between the two nations had been duty-free. EC '92, by the same token, is part of a process of unification now over 30 years old. Furthermore, the driving force behind both initiatives has been the perceived benefits of internal free trade and economic integration, as opposed to the desire for external protectionism. The primary motivations for the U.S.-Canada pact were, for the United States, to wrest the initiative on trade policy from the protectionist lobby, and, for Canada, to lock in access to American markets in case those protectionists prevailed. For both sides, the treaty was adopted to counter protectionism, not to promote it. With regard to the EC, the main point of the single-market program was to overcome "Eurosclerosis" through internal liberalization. Far from

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plotting to close out the rest of the world from European markets, the EC Commission did not even formulate a policy on the external effects of EC '92 until 1988, more than three years after publication of the White Paper. Although protectionist elements may worm their way into the FTA or EC '92, (for example, the restrictive auto quotas of certain EC member states may be replaced by a restrictive EC-wide quota) these are marginal to the central liberalizing thrust of both initiatives.

Hope for the GATT

Reports of the death of the multilateral trading system are greatly exaggerated. On the contrary, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT, may be regaining some of its momentum.

After spectacular success in lowering average tariff rates from 40 percent to 5 percent, the GATT has been unable to deal with various nontariff barriers. The most egregious of these are the so-called voluntary export restraints (which are really import quotas) on such items as steel, automobiles, and footwear, which have been on the rise in recent years. Moreover, the GATT contained certain unfortunate loopholes from the outset, as in the case of agriculture, and other loopholes have been created later, such as for textiles. And, because the GATT has always been limited to merchandise trade, its relevance has diminished as other issues—such as services trade, foreign investment, and protection of intellectual property—have become increasingly important to world commerce.

The GATT is now entering the last year of a four-year negotiating round, the so-called Uruguay Round, whose ambitious agenda promises a revitalization of the multilateral system. Now on the table are proposals to convert agricultural quotas to tariffs and then gradually reduce those over time, to phase out the "Multifiber Arrangement" quota system and return textile trade to GATT discipline, and to extend the GATT system to such new areas as services trade, foreign investment, and intellectual property protection. In addition, ways to bolster the GATT's dispute settlement and enforcement mechanisms are being considered.

High stakes are riding on the outcome of the Uruguay Round; failure could leave the GATT permanently discredited. However, the outlines of possible deals are emerging, under which developing countries would concede on intellectual property and services trade issues in exchange for greater access to the industrialized nations' agriculture and textile markets. Likewise, the United States and the EC should be able to figure out a way to call off their ruinous escalation of agricultural export subsidies. If significant progress along these lines can be achieved, the world free trade system will be on its surest footing since the 1960s.

Remaining Obstacles

While trade expansion has been impressive during this decade and future liberalization looks promising, there still remains much to be done. Japan clings to an archaic and inefficient distribution system that chokes demand for imports. The EC pours an unbelievable $120 billion a year into agricultural subsidies, and another $50 billion into subsidies for steel production, shipbuilding, and other industries. And in the developing world, import substitution remains the dominant policy.

The protectionists are dead wrong, though, when they claim that the United States is the only injured party—that other countries are "unfair traders" while the United States, playing free-trader nice guy, is left to finish last. The unfortunate fact is that our hands are about as dirty as everyone else's. Indeed, while the trend in the rest of the world has been toward increased liberalization, in the United States protectionism has been on the rise:

After the sluggish 1970s, the growth rate of world trade has returned to the boom pace of the 1950s and early 1960s.

one estimate shows that the share of U.S. imports affected by substantial trade barriers has gone up from 12 percent in 1980 to 23 percent in 1988. We have import limits on textiles and clothing, steel, cars, machine tools, ceramic tiles, cheese and other dairy products, sugar, and peanuts. We subsidize agriculture to the tune of tens of billions a year. We maintain various "Buy American" laws in the field of government procurement. Our antidumping and countervailing duty laws act as de facto protectionist barriers. And now, under the new Super 301 law, we threaten unilateral retaliation against "unfair trader" countries that do what we do but not what we say. The point here is not to bash America, and certainly not to apologize for the misguided policies of other countries, but rather to underscore that an American trade policy based on a holier-than-thou attitude is not only unconstructive, but also unwarranted.

Rather than looking where to fix blame for the problems that remain, we should work to improve what has already been accomplished. After all, world trade is booming and the ongoing trade expansion that has served as a motor of postwar economic growth is continuing to hum. Contrary to the doomsayers' dark prophecies, the world does not appear to be entering a period of neomercantilist trade wars; quite the opposite, economic and political obstacles to international commerce are being eliminated. These trends may be reversed, of course; rhetoric is becoming increasingly poisonous, and misunderstanding abounds. But if the progress made up to now can be built upon, the promise of a global economy that is truly integrated and free may one day be fulfilled.

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The Hoax on You

How Much Are You Overpaying for Social Security?

Lawrence A. Hunter, Donald R. Leavens, and Orawin T. Velz

William J. O'Connell, a 27-year-old service representative for an Illinois electronics firm, is a victim of a tax hoax perpetrated in 1983 under the guise of Social Security reform. Last year, Mr. O'Connell earned $31,000 and, together with his employer, paid $3,757 in Social Security taxes. Only $3,150 of this amount was required to pay benefits for current retirees. The remaining $607 is supposed to build up a reserve that will pay for benefits when he and other baby-boomers retire.

This January, Mr. O'Connell's Social Security taxes are going up again, as they did in 1984 and 1988—the result of automatic tax hikes built into the 1983 "reform package." His and his employer's contributions to the reserve will rise to $635 this year, assuming his income remains unchanged.

The only trouble is: Mr. O'Connell's extra taxes and those of tens of millions of other workers across the land aren't going into a genuine reserve. Instead, they are being spent immediately—to finance current government spending for purposes other than Social Security. The Social Security Administration exchanges the extra taxes that go into the "reserve" (this year the amount totaled $50.1 billion, 16.5 percent of all Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance taxes) for special-issue federal bonds. But since the bonds must be paid back by the same federal Treasury that pays Social Security checks, the alleged surplus in the Social Security Trust Fund is nothing more than a collection of IOUs the federal government has written to itself.

Bipartisan Misrepresentation

Politicians of both parties have misrepresented the tax increases in the 1983 legislation. Senator John Heinz (R-PA) said in October 1988:

> In 1983 we revised the Social Security Program to make sure that there would be a surplus reserve. Today's workers—euphemistically called the "baby-boomers"—will be retiring at a time when there will be fewer workers to support them. We must make sure that the revenues that have been building up for these future retirees are protected for their uses.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) similarly wrote in March 1989:

> In 1983...the National Commission on Social Security Reform proposed a set of sweeping changes to the Social Security system. We had, for a near half-century, been operating on a pay-as-you-go basis. We now moved to a "partially funded" system whereby more is taken in than paid out, to establish a reserve when the "baby boom" retires.

These politicians are correct that Social Security faces a demographic time bomb a generation from now, when the ratio of workers to retirees will fall from the current 3.3-to-1 to 2.3-to-1. The hoax is that the tax increases mandated by the 1983 legislation in any way change those demographic realities. There is no "partial funding"; we are still in a pay-as-you-go system. A large and growing unfunded Social Security liability has been disguised as an income-earning asset. But come 2018, when according to the latest forecasts the Social Security system will go broke, the government is going to have to pony up the money for all those trillions of dollars in IOUs it has written to itself. To keep the system solvent, Congress will then have the same four choices it had before the 1983-mandated tax hikes: it can raise taxes, reduce Social Security benefits, cut other programs, or borrow huge sums of money.

Moynihan's Accounting Gimmicks

Mr. O'Connell's $635 overpayment would not be altered by an accounting gimmick proposed on Capitol Hill. Senators Heinz, Moynihan, Hollings, Domenici, and Riegle, and Representatives Cardin, Dorgan, and Frenzel have introduced legislation to remove the Social Security surpluses from Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit

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calculations. This year, such an accounting change would increase the federal budget deficit by $69 billion—$50.1 billion for the trust fund "surplus" plus $18.9 billion for interest payments by the Treasury into Social Security. But the accounting change will make no difference for Mr. O'Connell so long as the Social Security "surplus" is invested in federal bonds. Those bonds are still IOUs that will have to be paid by future taxpayers. The $635 is still being spent now.

The same can be said for a favorite proposal of Senator Moynihan's—to use the Social Security surplus not for current government programs but to pay off the national debt. Mr. O'Connell's $635 would still be spent, this time for debt service. His promised Social Security benefits would still go unfunded.

Rather than further obscuring the brewing crisis in Social Security, Congress should face up to the problem directly. There is a simple first step that Congress could take in this direction: reduce the Social Security tax so that revenue would not exceed expenditures by more than the small cushion required for smooth administration of the program. Under this option, Mr. O'Connell and his employer would pay $635 less in Social Security taxes this year. The Social Security system would face no greater shortfall in 2018 than it will under the existing arrangement. Instead of contributing extra taxes to finance government spending, Mr. O'Connell could invest that money more productively in the private sector.

Unfortunately, a simple tax cut leaves in place a gigantic "pay-as-you-go" government benefits program headed for a crash in 2018. The ideal solution from the standpoint of economic efficiency would be to privatize the entire Social Security system. Such a system could be designed with incentives for people to save for their own retirement and at the same time establish a means-tested supplemental "safety net" retirement program to pay government benefits to those whose savings prove inadequate. While this option should be our long-term aim, it is politically unrealistic now.

Private Retirement Accounts

A politically more realistic improvement is to return the excess Social Security revenues to individuals and require that each individual save his share of the excess in qualified private retirement accounts (PRAs). Congressman John Porter (R-IL) has introduced a bill calling for a study of such a plan. Under the private retirement account plan, Mr. O'Connell would receive a rebate of $635 this year, on the condition that he invest the rebate in a qualified PRA, which could be structured similarly to individual retirement accounts or IRAs. The one difference from current IRAs would be that Mr. O'Connell could not withdraw either the principal or the interest on the account, even under penalty, until retirement. In the event of his death, the account would become part of his estate and not subject to distribution until the date upon which his legatee becomes eligible for retirement.

CALCULATE YOUR YEARLY HOAX CONTRIBUTION:

If your income is:	*you overpay by:*
$ 5,000	$ 102
10,000	205
15,000	307
20,000	410
25,000	512
30,000	614
35,000	717
40,000	819
45,000	922
50,000	1,024

When Mr. O'Connell retires, he could withdraw retirement benefits from his account each year up to the amount he otherwise would be entitled to in Social Security benefits. When he depletes his account, he would be entitled to receive his promised Social Security benefits from the Social Security Trust Fund.

Each dollar taken out of Mr. O'Connell's private retirement account is a dollar by which Social Security outlays could be reduced without reducing his retirement benefits. By the time he retires, Mr. O'Connell could accumulate enough savings in his private retirement account to cover his promised benefits fully for almost two years, allowing the government to avoid paying him any benefits during that period. Based on the Social Security Administration's assumptions, these PRAs would reduce annual Social Security outlays sufficiently to keep the system solvent through 2046, a full 28 years longer than currently projected.

Buying Time

The rebate of Social Security taxes would expose a higher budget deficit, but not as high as the proposal to remove the trust fund surplus from deficit calculations—$64.1 billion versus $100.4 billion in fiscal 1994, the year after the law requires the federal budget to be balanced. If Congress would enact binding deficit targets for the years 1994 and beyond, a balanced budget could be achieved easily by 1999 without raising taxes, simply by restraining the growth rate of spending.

The proposal offered here is no panacea. The system begins to run dry in 2046. But it finally faces up to the fiction of a "building surplus" in Social Security and pushes the problem out beyond the baby-boom generation's retirement. In the meantime, Congress will have time to devise a permanent fix to the problem of this nation's retirement system, which is still broken after all these years.

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"You Ain't the Right Color, Pal"

White Resentment of Affirmative Action

Frederick R. Lynch and William R. Beer

One of the sleeper political forces in America is the growing sense of grievance among younger working-class and middle-class white males most affected by affirmative action preferences. These policies were originally designed to ensure equal opportunities for blacks. Now, in the name of proportional representation for an expanding list of minority groups, they have created new forms of discrimination. A growing body of public opinion data, newspaper reports, anecdotal evidence, and sociological research suggests that whites feel frustrated and unfairly victimized by affirmative action preferences. The political and social consequences of such frustration are uncertain, but they may be contributing to racial polarization on many campuses, in workplaces, and in political life.

Public opinion polls consistently show that whites favor affirmative action in the form of compensatory training but overwhelmingly oppose preferential treatment and quotas for minorities in hiring and school admissions. According to a CBS/*New York Times* poll in 1977, 68 percent of whites favored government help for people who had suffered from a history of discrimination. This approval has continued into the Reagan-Bush years. A 1984 Harris poll found that 67.6 percent of whites accepted the idea of "affirmative action" when it excluded quotas.

On the other hand, whites reject anything less than equal opportunity for individuals. In March 1988, a *Newsweek*/Gallup poll asked: "Because of past discrimination, should qualified blacks receive preference over equally qualified whites in such matters as getting into college or getting jobs or not?" In results consistent with 20 years of polling data, 80 percent of whites (and 50 percent of blacks) responded, "should not."

In a 1984 telephone survey of registered voters by Gordon Black Associates, 1 out of 10 white males said that they had personally experienced reverse discrimination. The 1986 National Election Study by the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research discovered that well over half of whites believed whites have been hurt by affirmative action in hiring and school admissions. When whites were asked if a white person would be refused admission to a school while an equally or less qualified black was accepted, 27.6 percent responded "very likely" and 41.4 percent said "somewhat likely," for a positive total response of 69 percent. A similar question was asked about hiring; 26.6 percent of whites responded "very likely" and 48.3 percent said "somewhat likely"—a total of 75 percent—that a white would lose out.

The National Election Study also asked whites what they estimated the chances were that they or someone in their family would suffer reverse discrimination. In school admissions, 12.5 percent thought this very likely and 30 percent thought it somewhat likely, while in hiring and promotions, the percentages were 12.4 and 28.7 percent, respectively—for a total of more than 40 percent in both categories.

White responses to affirmative action quotas are patterned in part by social class, union membership, and education level. Working-class whites have been more overt and organized in articulating responses. Many of the definitive cases decided by the courts have involved challenges brought by unionized police, fire fighters, and correctional officers. Response among middle-class whites, especially those with some college education, has been more muted and fragmented.

A related factor affecting response of whites has been their institutional location. Affirmative action preferences have most affected younger whites in public sector organizations and corporations with government contracts. Preferences have also been implemented with increasing candor and aggressiveness in universities and colleges.

Campus Standards: Separate and Unequal

Andrew Hacker has joined many other analysts in observing that affirmative action has a bold new look on university campuses. As he wrote in the *New York Review of Books* last October, universities are admitting blacks and Latinos with substantially lower academic qualifica-

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tions than many of the whites and Asians they are turning away. A dean of admissions told Hacker: "We take in more in the groups with weaker credentials and make it harder for those with stronger credentials."

Hacker and others have spotlighted major ethnic changes in the undergraduate enrollment at the University of California's Berkeley campus. Under pressure from the state legislature, Berkeley administrators quadrupled the percentage of blacks and Latinos in the freshman class in less than a decade—from 8 to 31 percent. There has been a corresponding, dramatic decrease in the percentage of whites—from over 60 percent to 32 percent.

According to Hacker, University of California administrators realized that "the only way to raise [black and Latino] representation would be to waive the admission rules, and this was done." Most whites and Asians were admitted on the basis of grades and test scores—about 50 percent of each freshman class. The other 50 percent (including most blacks and Latinos) were admitted in a second category stressing "other criteria"—mainly race and ethnicity. About 6 percent of each incoming class consists of "special action," less-than-qualified students. A similar transformation has occurred at UCLA.

Some Asian groups have openly and vigorously protested these arrangements. White protest has been more fragmented and subtle. Some parents of whites reportedly threatened *Bakke*-style lawsuits. But other whites may be "voting with their feet"—as whites did in busing battles—and going elsewhere. Applications from potential white students at Berkeley were down 15 percent from last year.

A cover story in the April 26, 1989, *Chronicle of Higher Education* observed that, on many campuses, white "students believe that minority group members today enjoy unfair advantages and that whites are being victimized by efforts intended to correct past discrimination." Said Michael L. Davis, director of the University of Texas Minority Information Center: "There is an undercurrent of antagonism, maybe even frustration, with programs and monies specifically set aside for minorities." Paul Bartley, the chairman of the Young Conservatives of Texas, argues that it is "inherently racist" to single out blacks or Hispanics for special treatment. At Pennsylvania State University, blacks not only get special preference in admissions, but they are also eligible for $500 "Black Achievement Awards" for maintaining a "C" average and $1,000 for maintaining a "C+" average. "When I hear stuff like that, it really angers me," said a white female student at the school.

Affirmative action quotas have become a central issue of a newly formed white students association at Temple University. University of Michigan students and alumni have registered vigorous objections to lowering admission standards for minorities as well as proposals to recruit out-of-state minority undergraduates to fill quotas. Among white graduate students at many institutions, there is growing irritation at clear favoritism in financial aid for minority students. For instance, the California State University system offers minorities and a few white females loans of up to $30,000 to pursue doctorates at other institutions, which are forgiven if they return to teach in the CSU system for five years. White males are ineligible; Asian males are also excluded in most instances.

Quiet Alienation

Frederick R. Lynch conducted 32 in-depth interviews with mostly middle-class white males who considered themselves reverse discrimination victims. Most avoided open complaint or protest out of fear of not being believed or that they would be labeled racist. The majority simply acquiesced in their treatment with varying degrees of resignation and anger.

Most of Lynch's subjects voiced temporary, if not long-term, frustration and cynicism about social institutions. "A lot of us were sold a bill of goods," complained a California state middle-management worker. "We were told if you went to college you could write your own ticket. But...affirmative action has lowered standards to the point where education almost counts against you." Many felt alienated from a society that refused to acknowledge their victimization. A white teacher, transferred to a distant school in a racial balancing plan, bitterly commented: "My friends couldn't handle this. They experienced cognitive dissonance. They didn't want to be seen as racists." Although victims of reverse discrimination were cynical or angry toward social and political institutions, almost no one in Lynch's study expressed hostility towards minorities *per se.*

The persistent white racism in many American communities deserves condemnation. But it is inappropriate to attribute to old-fashioned prejudice all of whites' unhappiness with affirmative action.

Six of Lynch's subjects quit or resigned from the organizations that discriminated against them. Three circumvented affirmative action barriers within their organizations by various means. Only three filed lawsuits. (None were successful.) No government agency offered redress.

Firehouse Suits

In contrast to the disorganized response of middle-class whites, working-class white police and fire fighters in Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Birmingham, and a host of other cities have taken legal action against quotas imposed by courts or administrators. Several key Supreme Court decisions on

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Dallas, 1956. Today many whites believe that, solely because of their skin color, they are being sent to the back of the bus.

affirmative action have involved police and fire fighters (notably *Memphis Fire fighters* v. *Stotts* [1984], *Local 93 of the International Association of Firefighters* v. *City of Cleveland* [1986], *Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers* v. *Equal Employment Opportunity Commission* [1986], and *Martin* v. *Wilks,* [1989]). Correctional officers have also launched such lawsuits. Many disputes involved attempts by administrators to negate or adjust minority test-score results on entry-level or promotional exams. For example, 200 minority candidates who failed a 1983 sergeants exam in the New York City Police Department were nonetheless promoted to boost the proportion of minority officers. New York state correctional officers sued when administrators adjusted test scores of minority officers to increase the pass rate on a promotional exam. (Such practices were accidentally uncovered in the Boston Police Department when it was recently discovered that two white police officers had falsified their racial identities and obtained entry to the force with scores approximately 20 percentile points below the level required for whites.)

Unions have also been active in contesting reverse discrimination in layoff situations. Teachers' unions in Boston and Michigan have entered reverse discrimination cases when whites with greater seniority were laid off, while blacks with less seniority were retained.

Availability of union legal staffs may have been one reason for more active and effective blue-collar response. But another is that police, fire fighters, correctional officers, and teachers have borne much of the sacrifice of affirmative action. New hires and those seeking their first promotions have been most severely affected.

Shocker for Democrats

Blue-collar whites' outrage over use of preferences for blacks and immigrants was discovered by Stanley Greenberg in research sponsored by the Democratic Party in 1985. The purpose of the research was to discover the roots of Democratic defection to Ronald Reagan in the 1980 and 1984 presidential elections. The moderator of a discussion group of blue-collar whites asked them "Who do you think gets the raw deal?" The answers:

"We do."

"The middle-class white guy."

"The working middle class."

"'Cause women get advantages, the Hispanics get advantages, Orientals get advantages. Everybody but the white male race gets advantages now."

From another section of Greenberg's report:

"I have been here all my life working, paying taxes and the whole shot, and I can't start my own business unless I have 30 percent down on whatever I want to buy. I have experience on the job, I have put in for openings, and they have come right out and told me in personnel that the government has come down and said that, 'I can't have the job because they have to give it to the minorities.'"

"I know what you are talking about. I tried to apply for a business loan and yesterday they said, 'No go. Forget it, you just ain't the right color, pal.'"

Greenberg and his Democratic sponsors reported being stunned by these results. Much to their chagrin, fury over affirmative action was one of the top concerns of white, working-class voters. Similar data were obtained from a "Democrats Listening to America" poll of 5,500 voters in 1985.

After the 1988 elections, influential Democrats began to speak more openly of the threat posed by affirmative action quotas to the traditional Democratic Party alliance of white working classes and minorities. In the *New York Times Magazine* Joseph Califano, President Carter's Secretary of Health and Human Services, warned that whites view affirmative action as "unfair pandering to black constituents. They view such a permanent commitment as founded not on need or social justice but on a guilt they refuse to accept....Continued support of programs that are not achieving their goals may aggravate rather than ease racial tension."

Angry at the System

Racial incidents in male-oriented organizations—such as college fraternities and police departments—are perhaps the result of racial prejudices, combined with the verbal jousting and hazing common in such "macho" environments. But they also may be the expression of frustration with affirmative action. Such incidents have occurred in northern, liberal universities with vigorous commitment to affirmative action preferences—such as the Universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Mas-

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sachusetts. Police and fire departments in some "progressive" cities—such as San Francisco and New York—have also experienced such incidents in the context of affirmative action disputes.

We do not dismiss the possibility that in some of these incidents old-fashioned racial prejudice may be masquerading as opposition to affirmative action. The recent murder of a black man in Brooklyn's Bensonhurst section is a reminder of the persistence of conventional racism. Nonetheless, we would suggest that white anger over affirmative action preferences can be examined independently of old-fashioned racism with elementary tools of behavioral science.

Treating people differently because of their race, origin, or gender violates what Harvard's George Homans termed the law of distributive justice. According to this principle, people feel that their rewards should be proportional to their "investments"—educational level, grades, test scores, seniority, experience, and other measurable qualities. If others with less training, ability, or education are granted equal or superior rewards, frustration and anger are the likely outcomes.

That arbitrarily assigned group preferences might result in anger and hostility toward favored groups was confirmed in a social psychology experiment conducted by Stephen Johnson of Ball State University. In a small group laboratory setting, Johnson asked 32 white male college students to solve a puzzle. The game was rigged: all subjects would lose. Half of them were told they had lost to a fictitious competitor because the latter's solution of the puzzle was deemed better by the experimenter. The other half were told after they had solved the puzzle that the competitor had been assigned a bonus score based on economic deprivation. In addition, half of the subjects were told they had lost to a black competitor, half to a white competitor. Subjects expressed little hostility when they lost to blacks or whites whose performance was superior. They expressed considerable hostility, however, toward victors who had been assigned a bonus because of their backgrounds, with the greatest hostility toward blacks—a classic "reverse discrimination" situation.

On the other hand, all middle-class white males interviewed by Lynch, and most working-class white males studied by Greenberg, directed their anger toward a system of unfair rewards—not minorities *per se*. Johnson did not measure hostility toward the experimenter or the system of rewards, so we do not know what those results would have been.

Legitimate Grievances

Most civil-rights leaders championed affirmative action on the grounds that it was necessary to overcome persistent discrimination against blacks in the workplace. The goal was nondiscrimination.

However, analysts have increasingly recognized that affirmative action programs have changed. Race-consciousness, not race neutrality, is encouraged. Many corporations, government agencies, and universities are allocating positions on the basis of race and ethnicity in order to achieve proportional representation for a variety of minority and immigrant groups. The *New Republic*'s Hendrik Hertzberg last summer bared an underlying assumption of group-preference policy when he argued that an entire generation of white males must be sacrificed for the hope of future racial peace and social stability.

Obviously, many white males feel the affirmative action sacrifices have already been made. Indeed, as preferences are brought to bear on undergraduates, we are entering a second generation of affirmative action.

Americans must recognize and examine the consequences of these policies. Recent Supreme Court decisions have indicated that quotas or set-asides may not survive constitutional scrutiny. We have argued that the policies are incompatible with concepts of justice and reward deeply rooted in human behavior.

It has been a mistake to ignore the legitimate grievances of whites who believe that affirmative action programs are penalizing them for injustices they personally did not commit. Continued refusal to discuss problems wrought by affirmative action in recognized national forums invites political polarization, exploitation by political opportunists, the growth of fringe politics, and, perhaps, a political backlash.

Democratic pollsters found that fury over affirmative action is one of the top concerns of white, working-class voters.

The persistent white racism in many American communities deserves condemnation. But it is inappropriate to attribute to old-fashioned prejudice all of whites' unhappiness with affirmative action. The claims of unfair treatment, the expressions of injury and personal wrong, the feelings of alienation and victimization are in many cases genuine. They deserve sympathy from all Americans inspired by Martin Luther King's dream of a society where a man is judged by the content of his character, not the color of his skin.

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Auxiliary Precaution

The Bill of Rights Is Not the Constitution's Most Important Safeguard of Liberty

Lawrence J. Block and David B. Rivkin Jr.

Government [is] the greatest of all reflections on human nature. If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external or internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government that is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: You must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself. A dependence on the people is no doubt the primary control on government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions.

—James Madison, *Federalist* No. 51

Americans are now embarking on the bicentennial celebration of one of our "auxiliary precautions" in the defense of liberty. The Bill of Rights was enacted by Congress in September 1789 and, upon ratification by the states in 1791, became the first 10 amendments to the Constitution. Those amendments have provided important safeguards of individual liberties ever since.

It is distressing, however, that many Americans, including most members of the bench and bar, look to the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment as the *principal* protection of individual rights, while overlooking the all-important safeguards contained in the structure of the Constitution itself. The common view, that only the courts protect individual rights by enforcing the Bill of Rights and by developing ever more expansive interpretations of these rights, ignores the Framers' carefully considered solutions to the age-old philosophical and political dilemmas of where to draw the balance between societal order and individual liberty, what is the proper role of the courts in this process, and what restrictions, if any, can be placed on the democratic political process in order to safeguard liberty. It misses the salient fact that the Constitution itself was designed to be, in the words of Alexander Hamilton writing as Publius in *Federalist* No. 84, "in every rational sense, and to every useful purpose, a bill of rights."

The American republican system created by our Constitution balanced liberty and order in six specific ways: first, through the functioning of democratic process, by putting into practice the concept that government may only operate through the consent of the governed; second, through the horizontal diffusion of power among the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary on the national level, undergirded by the system of functional separation of powers and checks and balances, which prevents the undue accumulation of power while preserving stability and order in the body-politic; third, through limiting the legislative authority of the federal government to explicit enumerated powers; fourth, through actions of an energetic and unitary executive able to administer the laws and defend the nation, yet accountable to the people through elections and prevented by congressional checks from becoming a tyrant; fifth, through the vertical diffusion of power between national and state governments, which protects local traditions, mores, and beliefs from federal encroachment; and finally, through the judicial enforcement of only certain explicit liberties, primarily contained in the Bill of Rights, leaving other controversies to be resolved through the workings of the democratic system.

Tyranny of the Majority

Representative government—with the consent of the people registered in periodic elections—was for the Framers the primary protection of fundamental rights. As Jefferson put it in the Declaration, to secure rights "Governments are instituted among Men" and must derive "their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed." However, the Framers also believed that the sole reliance upon elections and the mechanism of public opinion was insufficient, because a tyranny of the majority could be just as pernicious as a dictatorship by the one or the few.

In the Philadelphia Convention, Madison observed that "in all cases where a majority are united by a common interest or passion, the rights of the minority are in danger." The "only remedy," for Madison, was "to

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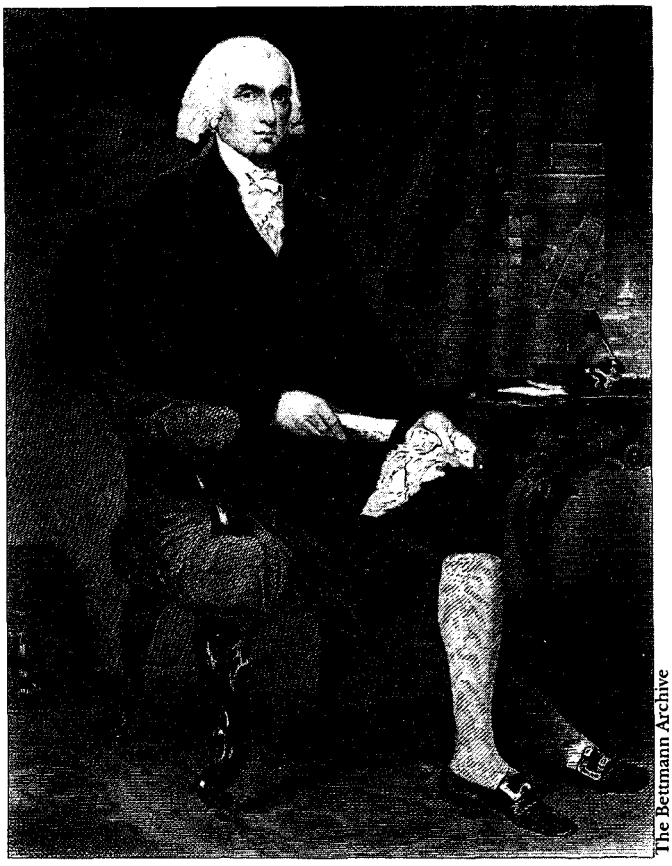
enlarge the sphere, and thereby divide the community into so great a number of interests and parties, that in the first place a minority will not be likely at the same moment to have a common interest separate from that of the whole or of the minority; and in the second place, that in case they should have such an interest, they may not be apt to unite in the pursuit of it." Under this analysis, the larger the republic, the greater the number of factions that could be checked and balanced against each other to prevent the accumulation of power and, accordingly, tyranny. A large republic, such as the United States, makes it feasible for the Constitution to confer sufficient power to the national government to prevent democratic ineptitude and majoritarian tyranny.

Nevertheless, as Madison observed in a letter to Thomas Jefferson: "Wherever the real power in a Government lies, there is the danger of oppression. In our Governments the real power lies in the majority of the community, and the invasion of private rights is chiefly to be apprehended, not from acts of Government contrary to the sense of its constituents, but from acts of the major number of the constituents." To Madison, the greatest threat of tyranny in a republican government therefore came from the legislative branch, which in his time (and inherently), was "everywhere extending the sphere of its activity and drawing all power into its impetuous vortex." The Constitution's solution to this threat of majoritarian tyranny was the system of "auxiliary precautions."

Separation of Powers

The first of these auxiliary precautions, embodied in the Constitution is separation of powers, undergirded by the system of checks and balances. This safeguard divides power and prevents each branch of the federal government from unduly encroaching on the powers of the others and from trespassing on the rights of the citizenry. To Montesquieu, whom the Framers termed "the oracle," separation of powers into three distinct branches of government—the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary—was the very hallmark of liberty: "The accumulation of all powers in the same hands may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny."

However, for a variety of reasons, the Framers rejected traditional versions of separation of powers as inappropriate to the American constitutional experiment. To begin with, they did not embrace the British and Aristotelian understanding of "mixed government" (where government is divided into institutions that reflect social estates, with the monarch representing the rule of one, the House of Lords representing aristocracy or the rule of the few, and the House of Commons representing democracy or the rule of the many), which they viewed as unworkable in a post-revolutionary America irrevocably committed to the notions of republicanism and equality under the law. They also rejected the concept of a rigid functional separation of powers, inculcated in many revolutionary and post-revolutionary demagogic state governments, as being ineffectual in checking tyrannical majorities. Instead, they favored a system of separated powers whereby certain limited and express powers traditionally or philosophically belonging to one



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Madison's system of checks and balances undergirds the separation of powers and ensures that American government is one of laws, not men.

branch of government were granted to another to protect against encroachment of individual liberties.

The effect of the separation of powers is that legislators cannot dictate to whom laws will be applied; legislators thus have an incentive to pass such equitable laws as they believe would be tolerable, when enforced against themselves, their families, and friends. Meanwhile, the people can be directly compelled or punished only by an executive, who implements rules made by the legislature or based on his independent constitutional powers, rather than rules developed according to personal whim. An independent judiciary can judge whether both the executive's actions and the legislature's enactments are consistent with the Constitution. In these ways, dangerous concentrations of power are avoided and the liberty of the people is preserved. Functional separation of powers is well summarized in the oft-quoted, but much misunderstood, statement that American government is one of laws, not of men.

Checks and Balances

The novel Madisonian system of checks and balances that undergirds the separation of powers was designed to promote two goals. The primary purpose of the Framers was to preserve from encroachment the powers vested in each of the three coordinate branches of the federal government; checks and balances were tools with which each branch could block the ambition of the other two. Checks were also designed to defend the people as

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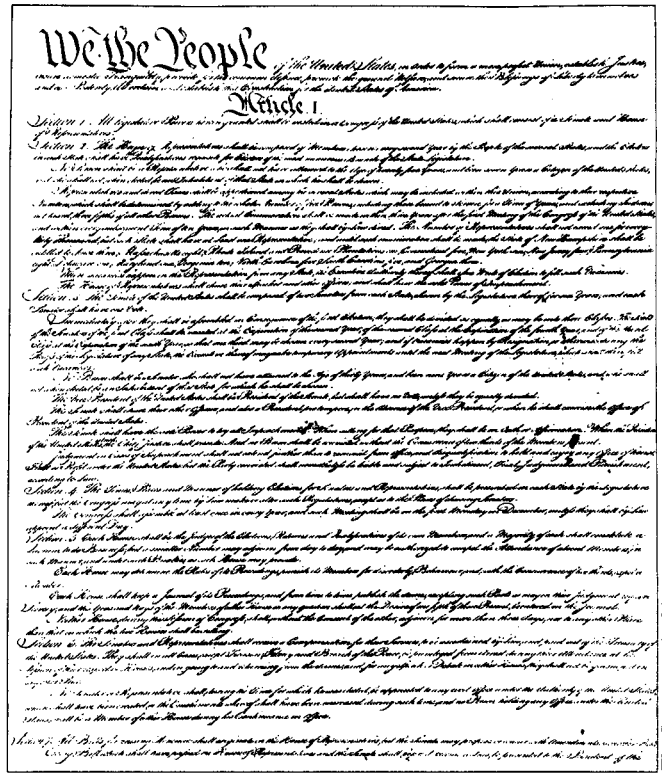
a whole from oppressive measures instigated by haughty or power-hungry representatives or bureaucrats, as well as to defend minority rights.

The most important executive checks on the Congress are the exercise of executive discretion in the enforcement of laws and the qualified executive veto of legislation. The executive's veto serves (as does bicameralism) to ensure security against the passage of oppressive laws as well as preserve the executive's independence. (These checks derive much of their efficacy from another novel constitutional device, the indirect, yet essentially popular, election of the president by the people.) The separation of the legislature into two houses, and the requirement that both houses concur to pass legislation, provides an additional security against despotic laws.



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Alexander Hamilton wrote that the Constitution was itself a Bill of Rights.

The most significant legislative checks on the president are the congressional power of the purse, the power to declare war, the impeachment power, and Senate confirmation of appointments and approval of treaties.

The judiciary checks the executive and legislature through the process of judicial review, which, along with creation of the presidency, was an innovation of our Constitution. The judiciary's term of good behavior secures its independence from the executive and the legislature; it can judge whether both the executive's actions and the legislature's enactments are consistent with the Constitution. The judiciary, in turn, is checked by its obligation to interpret the Constitution consistent with its original meaning, by the Congress's impeachment power, and, more remotely, by the power of the president to appoint judges, subject to the approval of the Senate.

The Framers viewed representative government—with the consent of the people registered in periodic elections—as the primary protection of fundamental rights.

Limited Government

Two hundred years later, the constitutional system of separation of powers and a related system of checks and balances remain well understood, although not always heeded. Unfortunately, another structural "auxiliary precaution," one that the Framers considered crucial to the preservation of liberty, has been all but forgotten—the constitutional mechanism of limiting the powers of the federal legislature to those that are specifically enumerated. In fact, this artifice was preferred to an extensive enumeration of citizens' rights against the government. Indeed, Framer James Wilson of Pennsylvania argued that because the new federal government was one of enumerated and limited powers, no bill of rights was necessary. In contrast to state governments, which could exercise any and all powers except those expressly denied by state bills of rights, the federal government could wield only those powers specifically conferred upon it by the Constitution. So it was that the power of Congress, the branch of government that Madison and others recognized had the greatest tendency to seek self-aggrandizement, was limited through the constitutional device of enumerated powers: Article I of the Constitution vests in the Congress only those powers "herein granted."

Liberty Through Strong Executive

Another auxiliary precaution, poorly understood and often ignored in contemporary times, is a strong executive. The Framers understood that liberty means very little if government is too feeble to promote domestic stability, safeguard against foreign incursions, and provide for the efficient administration of the state. The agency and means to promote these ends were placed by the Framers in the hands of a unitary and energetic executive—the president. Unity of executive power gave the president the ability to make quick decisions in critical emergencies. A single executive in a democratic republic, moreover, has an incentive not to be arbitrary in his administration—the hallmark of tyranny—because he is publicly accountable for his decisions: one person can be more closely watched than many executives whose members have no individual responsibility. This "due

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responsibility" (in Hamilton's term), bolstered by electoral accountability, is a central safeguard of liberty.

Moreover, the fact that the president was granted a long term of office (four years, originally with indefinite reeligibility) makes it likely that the executive will not be dependent on or swayed by momentary and ever shifting whims of popular opinion. A long duration of term, consequently, assures an independent executive and bolsters the president in fighting majoritarian despotism and unjust laws.

Vertical Division of Labor

Federalism is yet another "auxiliary precaution" that regrettably seems to have been ignored in contemporary times. The Constitution divided governmental power not only horizontally, among three branches of the federal government, but vertically, between the federal and state governments. This "compound government" added to the diffusion of governmental power in ways considered beneficial to the protection of individual liberties. Significantly, while the legislative authority of the national government was limited to enumerated powers (made explicitly clear by the later enacted Tenth Amendment), that of the states, whose governments were considered to be closest to the people, was not so constrained; state power was limited principally by the Constitution's Supremacy Clause, under which the national government's exercise of its enumerated powers would "trump" conflicting exercises of state concurrent powers.

The states were expected to play the traditional role of the classical republic—providing "good government" by legislating justice, as defined by elected representatives, who, in turn, reflected the moral consensus of their communities. In fact, the states were to legislate exclusively in areas that implicated both public morality and local welfare (now termed the police or welfare power). As an 18th-century pamphleteer propagandizing the new federal Constitution observed, under the federal system, state governments could "cut canals, regulate decedents and marriages, license taverns; alter the criminal law,...establish poor houses, hospitals, and houses of employment; regulate the police; and many other things of the utmost importance to the happiness of their respective citizens. In short, besides the particulars enumerated, everything of a domestic nature must or can be done by them."

By contrast, the national legislature was intended to have exclusive jurisdiction only in the matters of general interest and welfare of the United States—national defense and security, interstate and foreign commerce, and the means to effectuate such concerns (that is, taxing and spending). The historian Herbert Storing quotes a supporter of the Federalists, Peletiah Webster, as advocating ratification of the Constitution because "the Constitution does not suffer the federal powers to control in the least, or so much as interfere in the internal policy, jurisdiction, or municipal rights of any particular State except where great and manifest national purposes and interests make that control necessary."

Alexander Hamilton in *Federalist* No. 17 defined the role of the states in the American constitutional system to include "the ordinary administration of criminal and civil justice" that makes the states the "visible guardian of life and property." Indeed, to Hamilton the states have the key role in "regulating all those personal interests and familiar concerns to which the sensibility of individuals is more immediately awake," while the federal government's concerns are termed to be more remote, "relating to more general interest."

The Founding Generation maintained that a bill of rights would be a mere "parchment barrier," "a weak reed against the gale of tyranny."

Similarly, to James Madison (*Federalist* No. 45) the distinction between federal and state power is both quantitative and qualitative:

> The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the Federal Government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State Governments are numerous and indefinite. The former will be exercised principally on external objects, as war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce; with which last the power of taxation will for the most part be connected. The powers reserved to the several States will extend to all the objects which in the ordinary course of affairs concern the lives, liberties and properties of the people; and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the State.

George Mason's Temple

How does the Bill of Rights and judicial protection of these rights fit into the constitutional matrix? The drafting of the Bill of Rights was not prompted by the sudden realization by most of the Founding Fathers that the Constitution was deficient in protecting liberty; the impetus was largely political in nature. To be sure, the Framers of the Constitution strongly believed in the Lockean concept of natural rights that cannot be infringed upon by any government. Yet, the Founding Generation also maintained that a bill of rights would be a mere "parchment barrier," "a weak reed against the gale of tyranny." Edmund Randolph, for instance, observed that, during the pre-Constitution Confederation period, state bills of rights had not worked; they had been "repeatedly disregarded and violated," and he saw no reason to believe that a federal bill of rights would be any more efficacious. The Framers also believed it was impossible to foresee every conceivable governmental encroachment on individual liberty and, thus, impossible to set up case-specific constitutional guarantees. Irving Brant in his biography of James Madison wrote

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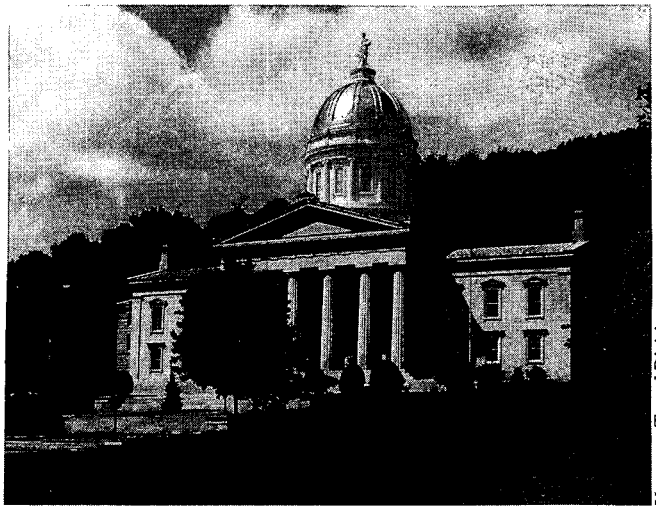

Vermont Travel Division

The Constitution reserved most government functions for the states, limiting the national government to specifically enumerated powers.

that Madison feared that a "public definition" of rights might actually constrict them, because some might be deleted through an inadvertent omission or be vaguely defined. He worried that if "an enumeration is made of our rights, would it not be implied that everything omitted is given to the general government." Therefore, as posited by the Framers, a framework of government that could limit governmental power from the outset would be a more effective bulwark against despotism.

Nevertheless, many Federalists (proponents of the Constitution) came to realize that a principal obstacle to its ratification was the absence of a bill of rights. A written bill of rights was thought by many Americans to be an important and traditional means to protect liberty. Long before the American Revolution, English settlers on the North American frontier in the 17th century brought with them the legal and political thought of their homeland. They considered charters of rights, such as the Magna Carta, the Religious Toleration Act, and the English Bill of Rights of 1689, as "palladiums of our liberties." Believed to be important protections against arbitrary government, charters of rights were included in virtually every revolutionary and post-revolutionary state constitution, some including, *in toto,* clauses from the English Bill of Rights. Many Americans believed that a declaration of rights would both educate people and provide a safe haven for individual liberties; and they refused to support the new Constitution without such language.

Led by the vociferous lobbying efforts of the Antifederalist George Mason, several states (Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, New York, and Virginia) conditionally ratified the Constitution, with the understanding that a series of rights amendments to the Constitution would be promulgated by the new Congress and submitted for ratification to the states. And, although Madison opposed a bill of rights so long as the Constitution was unratified, following ratification, he became the principal sponsor of the Bill of Rights. This change of heart has been traced by several historians to a letter Madison wrote to Thomas Jefferson in response to lobbying by Jefferson for a bill of rights: "I have never thought the omission [of a bill of rights] a material defect, nor been anxious to supply it even by subsequent amendments, for any other reason than it is anxiously desired by others. I have favored it because I supposed it might be of use, and if properly executed, could not be of disservice." Thus, Madison worked on behalf of the Bill of Rights not because he believed it to be necessary, but because general public opinion did.

Courts as Bulwark

The Bill of Rights was primarily designed to protect against an overreaching despotic government by strengthening the role of the judiciary. The courts, Madison said, "will be an impenetrable bulwark against every assumption of power in the legislative or executive." Thus, certain fundamental or natural rights were taken out of the political process, for special protection from an emotional electorate or the workings of legislative compromise. These rights entail freedom of religion, press and speech, and religious toleration (prohibition against the establishment of religion), included in the First Amendment. Other significant rights include the right of the people to keep and bear arms (Second Amendment), the right to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures (Fourth Amendment), from being compelled to testify against one's self, and from being deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law (Fifth Amendment), the right to an impartial, speedy, and public trial by jury in a criminal case (Sixth Amendment), and the right to be free from governmentally imposed excessive bail, fines, or cruel and unusual punishment (Eighth Amendment).

The Ninth Amendment, on the other hand, does not contain any specific right. It provides, however, that the "enumeration, in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people," and has been interpreted by some modern scholars and certain members of the bench (see, for example, Justice Goldberg's concurring opinion in *Griswold* v. *Connecticut,* 1965) as, in the words of Thomas Grey in the *Stanford Law Review,* "a license to constitutional decisionmakers to look beyond the substantive commands of the constitutional text to protect fundamental rights not expressed therein." However, this viewpoint ignores the Framers' design that the framework of the Constitution itself would be the primary protection of liberty. The Ninth Amendment was intended to be a narrow rule of construction precluding the assumption by the federal government of powers not enumerated by the Constitution. Justice Joseph Story explained that the Ninth Amendment "was manifestly introduced to prevent any perverse or ingenious misapplication of the well-known maxim, that an affirmation in particular cases implies a negation in all others; and *e converso,* that a negation in particular cases implies an affirmation in all others." In other words, the purpose of the Ninth Amendment was to allay the fears of Madison and others that enumerating rights in a bill of rights would expand inferentially the power of the federal government into areas beyond those contained in the Constitution. By implication, the unenumerated

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rights referred to by the Ninth Amendment cannot "trump" any powers expressly delegated by the Constitution to the federal or state governments. The Ninth Amendment, therefore, is little more than a truism that the Founder's generation believed in a universal system of natural law and rights.

Unraveling Constitution

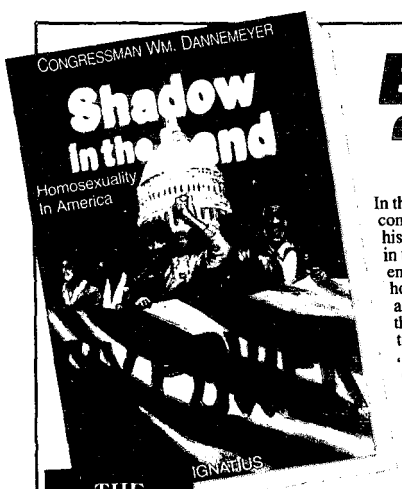
Given the tendency of legislatures to abridge fundamental rights, history has proved the advocates of a Bill of Rights correct; the courts have played an extremely important role through judicial review of legislation in giving effect to the rights expressly enumerated in the Constitution's Bill of Rights.

Unfortunately, the remainder of the Framers' elaborate constitutional system for the protection of liberty has unraveled during the past several decades. The New Deal ushered in a period of the rapid growth of a huge federal bureaucracy, creating in the process an administrative leviathan, regulating areas traditionally regarded as state preserves or the private affairs of individuals. As a result, more than the "auxiliary precaution" of federalism was weakened; the entire concept of limited government was emasculated. No longer, as a practical matter, is Congress limited to only those powers defined (or reasonably implied from) Article I of the Constitution. Consequently, the American constitutional system has become more like that of Britain—with the legislature's role unbounded, if not sovereign.

The separation of powers and the system of checks and balances have also recently suffered from the assaults of an "Imperial Congress" that has consistently sought to micromanage the executive's constitutional prerogatives of conducting foreign affairs and enforcing the law. This, unfortunately, has resulted in an enfeebled government frequently incapable of resisting the demands of interest groups, meeting the needs of the public, or protecting that public from encroachments on traditional liberties.

Ironically, the courts—the branch of government popularly identified with the protection of rights—have also played a role in weakening the Constitution's system for protecting liberty. By all too frequently acting as Platonic guardians—enforcing not the language of the statutes or the Constitution to decide cases and controversies brought before them, but rather imposing their own subjective moral values in the process of creating new "rights" not found in the Constitution—the courts have abridged the right of the people to decide basic moral and policy questions. By acting as "superlegislatures," courts have too often imposed the will of a tiny elite on the vast majority and, in the process, skewed the balance wheel of constitutional machinery.

To restore the constitutional equilibrium, revitalize the political process, properly construe the Bill of Rights, and last, but not least, to reinvigorate the entire system of auxiliary checks envisioned by the Framers of the Constitution is a task of utmost importance. Given the stakes involved, it should move all Americans, liberals and conservatives, libertarians and social activists.



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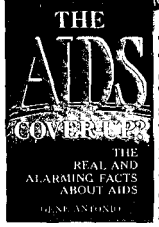

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PHONICS PHOENIX

A Lesson in Literacy in Small-Town Mississippi

BARBARA ANN ROWE

I teach third grade in Aberdeen, Mississippi, the state that consistently has the lowest educational achievement scores and the highest illiteracy rates. Aberdeen is a small town in the northeast part of the state on the Tombigbee Waterway. Although we aren't in the Delta, our economy has depended on cotton and soybeans, traditional plantation crops. The grandparents of many of our schoolchildren were sharecroppers.

The public schools are about 75 percent black and many of the kids in my class come from what we call "non-nurturing" families, many times headed by a single mother. The parents, who are often school dropouts (some as early as the eighth grade), rarely get involved in their children's education. Few of them have books at home; very few, if any, get the newspaper. It's no wonder that their children's average reading test scores had traditionally been in the 30th percentile or lower. Try as hard as we would, we just couldn't teach these children to read. Then we got a new beginning reading program three years ago called Sing, Spell, Read, and Write. That year my children started out in the 27th percentile on the Stanford Achievement Test. By the end of the year they were in the 57th!

Everyone talks about fighting illiteracy. But few actually do anything about it. Well, we did. There may be some lessons here in Aberdeen for educators around the nation who really are interested in getting to the roots of the illiteracy problem.

The Need for Phonics

After 13 years of teaching, I almost had come to hate the period for my third-grade reading class. The children who came to me were completely unprepared for the work they were supposed to do. At first, I blamed other teachers, until one day I realized that these same children were leaving me just as unprepared for the fourth grade. Then, I blamed the specific basal reading program that I was assigned. Basal reading programs are those beginner's textbooks such as the Dick and Jane series, which are put out by big-name publishers like Macmillan and Harcourt-Brace. But after doing some research I discovered that all basal programs are basically the same.

One of the main criticisms of basal readers is that they do not include much phonics instruction. Rudolf Flesch has written a great deal about this subject since his popular book, *Why Johnny Can't Read*, came out in 1955. Most publishers maintain though that their series do include phonics. And they are right, they do have some phonics—a little bit—and they do have many other things—little bits. Publishers try to satisfy everyone and indulge every pet theory of reading educators. Unfortunately, this means that they aren't giving kids, especially the kids at highest risk of illiteracy, what they need to learn to read—texts that teach and constantly reinforce a basic understanding of how to sound out words.

I fully agree with Flesch that the education establishment has been taken in by these publishers of basal readers. Teachers work hard. They want desperately for their kids to succeed. Unfortunately, they just aren't being given the tools they need. We are throwing away a generation of children by insisting that they learn to read without teaching them phonics first. You have to learn to walk before you can run. You have to be able to read the letters before you can read the words, and the words before you can learn how to read a sentence. Most children who come from nurturing families where reading and education are valued are going to learn how to read no matter what method you use with them. But why make it harder for them? Sing, Spell, Read, and Write may not be the answer for every child, but I wish that my children, and that I myself, had been taught to read the way I'm now teaching my third-graders in Aberdeen Elementary—phonics first in a program that reinforces what they learn every day. For children whose backgrounds aren't so fortunate; phonics can mean the difference between literacy and illiteracy.

Spatter-Paint Basal Readers

Most basal programs use the look-and-say method and a lot of context clues for teaching reading and comprehension. For example, the reader will provide a sentence and ask the child to fill in the unknown word

BARBARA ANN ROWE *is an elementary school teacher in Aberdeen, Mississippi.*

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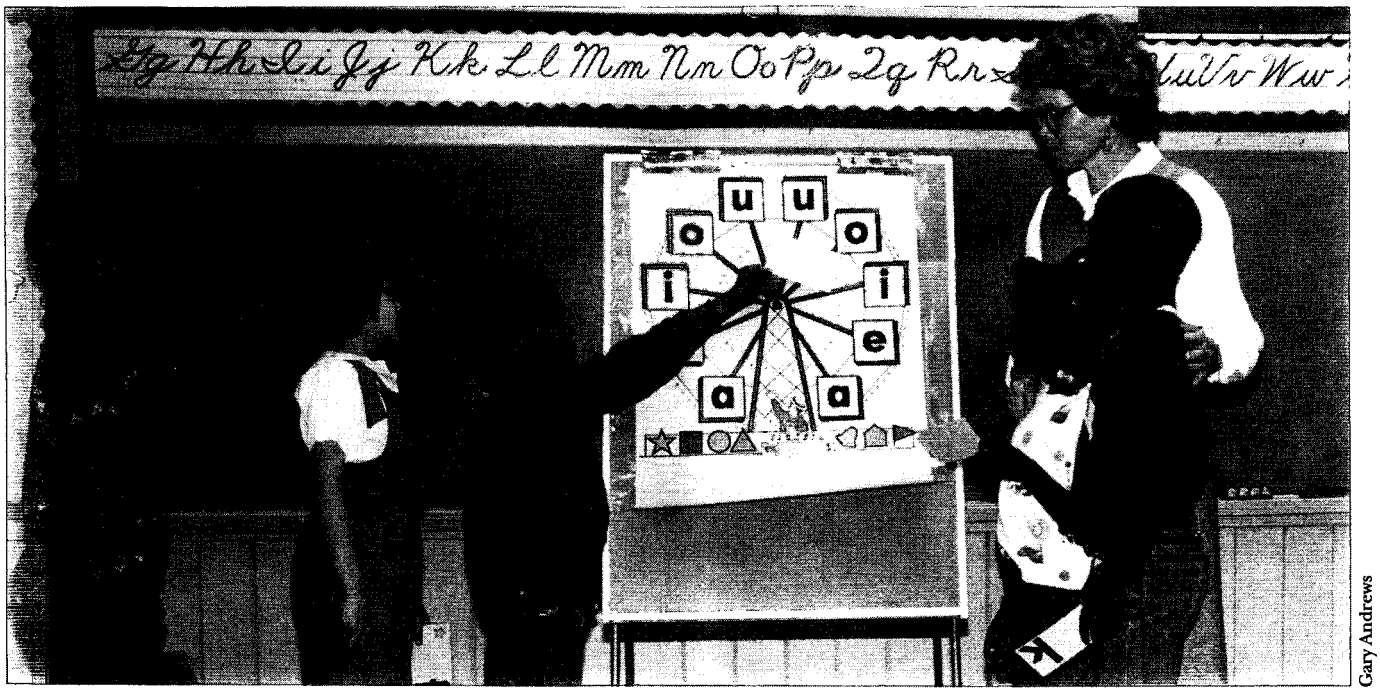

Gary Andrews

Just as the "ABC" song helps children remember the alphabet, the "Ferris Wheel Song" helps them remember vowel and consonant sounds.

according to the context, rather than by having him sound out the word. The children are just guessing, they aren't reading. The problem is that my students often cannot come up with the words despite context clues. They just don't know the words in the first place.

Basal programs also teach children to use pictures as clues. I would find children who would come to a word they wouldn't know, stop and search the picture, and make up a word. For example, the word, starting with a *c*, might be unknown, and if there happened to be a cat in the picture, the child would say "cat" even though the word might be "cloud." I would hardly call searching pictures reading. Also, this habit, I discovered later, is very difficult to break.

Another big problem with the basal readers is that they skip around too much. For example, the *-ing* sound would be introduced but not mentioned again until about seven lessons later. My students couldn't retain information that long. They needed constant, daily reinforcement to retain anything. Children came to my third-grade class having had some phonics for two years, but still could not remember the short *a* sound, as in the word *hat*. Obviously they weren't comprehending and remembering the material they had already gone over, or just weren't getting the material they needed in the first place. It was very frustrating.

I remember one year in particular. I went to everyone I knew and said, "Okay, I've got this group of children who can't read. I'm supposed to teach them. What can I do?" Some suggested I use language experience stories, where the teacher writes down a story that the child makes up, and then the child reads and copies it. Others told me to get some old first-grade readers and read those with them or to add a phonics program for a while.

I did all those things, but at the same time I knew that I was giving them a little bit of this and a little bit of that and not anything was coming together—kind of what I would call a spatter-paint reading program, little dots here and there but nothing smooth and worthwhile at the end. I was still sending children to the fourth grade without the skills they were supposed to have.

Singing to Success

I suppose I had complained loud enough, long enough, and emphatically enough that everyone, even the district superintendent, knew I was ready to join the doomsayers and admit that teaching these children to read just couldn't be done. In fact, I am sure that my outspokenness is what prompted the superintendent to bring a new program he had just ordered to my door and ask me if I would be willing to try it with my Level 5 reading class, in which the student's achievement scores were in the bottom quintile. I agreed. The program was called Sing, Spell, Read, and Write.

Sing, Spell, Read, and Write is a total language program. The children first learn to sing the sounds that all the letters make. Then they take these sounds and put them into words. The words are used in sentences and then stories. Children are not expected to read words that they cannot sound out. Every word they come to has been introduced to them so that they can sound it

Our third-grade kids improved from the 27th to the 57th percentile.

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out from the SSRW program. They sing the words, spell the words, read the words, and write the words daily. They have spelling tests daily, too, and not just the usual spelling tests where 10-15 words have been given the child to carry home to memorize on Monday, spell on Friday, and forget by the next Monday, but tests of words incorporating the sounds they have learned.

The real key to Sing, Spell, Read, and Write is not just its phonics emphasis, but its total immersion approach, which teaches grammar, spelling, and writing, as well as reading. Normally, the children have separate books for spelling and reading. In the spelling text, they may be learning the *silent e* sound. In the reading text, the *hard c* sound. They aren't integrated at all. For our kids, the constant reinforcement, doing the same thing every day, made SSRW very effective. Even after the children learned a song, they continued to sing it every day until it became a part of them. They retained what they learned.

For poor children, phonics can mean the difference between literacy and illiteracy.

The singing is an essential part of the program. Before we started SSRW, I was always amazed at how little the children would retain of what we taught them in class—even for 30 minutes. But at recess you could hear them singing songs they had heard on the radio, and they could remember every single word. The same people who produce SSRW now have a remedial program for older kids called "Winning" that teaches them rap songs and seems to be effective. Singing the songs every day helps these children retain what I've taught them, just like the "ABC Song" helps most children remember the alphabet. For one thing, the songs are a lot of fun for kids this age. Not only do they sing, but they also dance and march, and play games. One of the favorite songs is the "Ferris Wheel Song." Five children stand near the Ferris Wheel, which is a wheel of vowels, while holding cards showing consonants or combined consonants such as *br* or *fl*. As one child places his card in front of each vowel, the class sings the sounds of the consonant(s)-vowel combinations. The singing of the sounds—both long and short vowel sounds—continues as the other children hold their cards in front of the vowels on the Ferris Wheel.

Total Immersion Program

That first year I thought I was losing my mind sometimes, marching and dancing around the room all day long. And I was always worn out by the end of the day. I kept wondering if this was actually going to work.

As we sang and danced we learned all the sounds of the letters. The kids picked it up: they could read; they could spell. After only a short period of time, after we'd covered only four of the six songs that the program teaches, the children could spell words that many adults can't spell easily. People would come into my classroom to watch, and their mouths would drop open in amazement when one of my kids could spell "transportation" or "orchard"—not easy words for third-graders, much less for third-graders in the bottom fifth of their class—without blinking an eye.

I saw all kinds of glimpses of progress that made me want to work even harder, a feeling that I'd never had before. One day at recess a group of the kids ran back to the reading circle and wanted to know if they could start reading without me. I'd never before had kids ask if they could begin without me. It was usually an "oh-no-it's-time-for-reading" attitude.

Another day we had some extra time at the end of class and I was playing the SSRW tapes. The students were singing the "Short Vowel Song," the "Long Vowel Song," and the "Ferris Wheel Song." Some of the children I taught reading to were across the hall having social studies. In a few minutes I saw a couple of them in the doorway across the hall and they were singing with us. To make a long story short, in only a little while, the entire social studies class was in my room singing their hearts out. The tape player was like the Pied Piper. In the mornings before the first bell when I would be on duty, the kids would come to me and ask if they could go into my room and sing.

I'd walk into the grocery store and on the aisle next to me I would hear some little voice singing "a a a a apple." I knew we were on the right track.

Rewriting the Textbooks

The SSRW designer, Sue Dickson, requested that no basal program be incorporated with SSRW until after Lesson 20. I decided to use the program the way it was designed, which meant putting aside for a while the basal reader the kids were assigned by the school district and then going like crazy later in the year to catch up.

I also had to teach my students other third-grade material such as English and social studies. The students needed to know all the things the other third-graders were learning, or they'd be even further behind. So I sort of rewrote the English book so the children could read it. One of the first sentences in the English text was "Christopher Columbus set sail on a voyage across the ocean." The children were supposed to pick out the nouns in the sentence. But if you can't read words like *Christopher Columbus*, *voyage*, and *ocean*, you certainly can't tell if they are nouns or not. Even if you could read a word like voyage, but didn't know what a voyage was, you still could not determine whether it was a noun. So I rewrote the sentences only using words the children could sound out.

The results were astonishing and reassuring. I gave the class a test using SSRW words that was exactly the same format as the standardized test given in the English text. The majority of the students failed the standardized test, but all but three passed the one with the SSRW words. That told me immediately that the children did know what nouns were, but they just had not been able to read the words on the standardized test. I did that

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type of thing all year, continuing the third-grade curriculum so that the children wouldn't be too far behind, but at the same time only using words covered in the SSRW program as we progressed. We found that once the children improved their reading skills, learning other materials came easier. The science teachers would remark to me how much more quickly the kids could now read their science texts in class.

Phenomenal Gains

At the end of the year, 17 of the 25 children in my room gained over 50 scale points on the Stanford Achievement Test, a test used nationwide to measure educational achievement. Overall, while the other seven sections of the third grade gained an average of 26 scale points—a normal yearly gain on the Stanford Achievement Test—my section had an average gain almost double that.

Another example of the class's improvement came in the tests of word study skills. My class's average for the previous year had been the 27th percentile. In the spring of 1987 when they took the Stanford Achievement Test their average was at the 57th percentile. This just doesn't happen. In my 18 years of teaching I had never seen nor heard of this kind of gain.

One criticism of SSRW that I hear constantly from teachers who have not used the program—and I must admit that I had doubts about this part of the program too—concerns reading comprehension. Would the program address comprehension adequately? I went on the assumption that you have to crawl before you can walk, you have to be able to read the words before you can possibly comprehend. As the year progressed I hoped that comprehension would take care of itself. I think the results at the end of the year indicated this was true.

I also think that it is hard for teachers to make a blind leap of faith to a program like SSRW. We have become so "accountability conscious" and so test-oriented that it can be very unsettling to move to a program that does not have regular tests as the basal readers do. I didn't really know until the end of that first year what the results of my experiment would be.

It's important to remember that these were third-graders who were behind in the curriculum. I was not just trying to teach the third-grade curriculum, but also make up for the material they had missed in the first and second grades. When the scores on the Stanford Achievement Test came in, we found that some of these children had come from the 31st percentile to the 56th, or from the 23rd to the 48th in reading comprehension. Some went from the 10th percentile to the 46th, others from the 10th to the 22nd. Not all of the children made improvement, but most did.

The biggest gains were in the word study skills. The more practice they got in reading words, the more comprehension would increase. Their spelling improved tremendously. I could see big grins cover their faces—and pride. A good self-concept must come before achievement in school. Previously, these kids had no way of building self-esteem. They knew they were unable to do what was expected of them. Their accomplishments with SSRW helped them to feel better about themselves. No child sets out to be a failure. Some fail, however, because they are not given the tools they need to succeed.

Showcase Classroom

Because of the heartwarming things that happened with the children in my class and because of the good test results, the following year the program was implemented in the first grade, the proper place to start with it, and for all children, not just the children at the lowest levels. We've now had SSRW for two years in the first grade, for one year in the second grade, and this fall we placed it in all the third-grade classes in the Aberdeen Elementary School. The results of this program may not be known for years. Perhaps when the children are in junior high school we can see the difference it has made. I'm not saying the program has wrought miracles for every single child, but it has provided a gigantic step for many.

The success we have had with the program has made our classes in Aberdeen a bit of a showplace. Teachers and principals from other districts in the state and from other states in the South have been coming by. It's gotten to the point that we've had to cut back on the number of people we can allow in to see the program in action. Some other districts in Mississippi are starting to use the program, especially for their Chapter I programs, which are remedial education programs funded by the federal government for children who fall below the 50th percentile on standardized tests. And, a professor at the Mississippi University for Women, Jane Hodges, has received a research grant to study the success of the program as it is implemented around the state.

Unfortunately, the program is very expensive. In Mississippi the school districts are provided with approved textbooks by the state. Our local district must assume the cost of a program like Sing, Spell, Read, and Write out of its own budget. The SSRW classroom kit, available from International Learning Systems in Virginia, runs about $950. Then there are two workbooks per child for the year that cost $8.75 each. So the program costs about $1,300 per class.

Another problem with the program is that it does not adequately address vocabulary. For children such as those in my class, vocabulary training is greatly needed. Even when they can sound out a word, they may not know its meaning. Of course, this is a problem of their background and experience. Even when the school does all it can, children like my third-graders cannot perform like those who have had positive reading experiences and rich verbal backgrounds.

But despite drawbacks, the Sing, Spell, Read, and Write program can be an answer for those people trying to teach children at high risk for illiteracy. I used to dream that someday we could have our children as a whole at around the 50th percentile on their Stanford Achievement Test scores. We've done that and exceeded it. Three years ago I never thought it would ever be possible.

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LIP READING

The Drumbeat for Raising Taxes

JOHN O'BRYAN

One verdict of the 1988 election was unequivocal. The American people preferred the candidate who said "read my lips" to the candidate who said he would raise taxes as a last resort. But as soon as George Bush was elected, many of the same commentators who criticized his campaign as issueless set about to undermine one of his few clear-cut mandates. Those who earlier had labeled the new president "vague and issueless," now called him "impractical." Even though Bush ran and won the presidency on the explicit promise of no new taxes, these soothsayers scoffed at the notion that Bush would be true to his word.

Those who champion new taxes hide behind the political shield of "inevitability." They claim that they, too, would rather not raise taxes, but there is no choice—higher taxes are inevitable and to deny this is to ignore reality. They shirk all responsibility for raising taxes by noting that they are only accepting what the "experts say" and "the market dictates." To his credit, President Bush has resisted this drumbeat. The federal government met the fiscal 1990 Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction targets without any tax increase. And prophets of economic doom must be discomfited by the fact that the stock market in November stood 500 points higher than when George Bush took office.

What follow are some of the more egregious predictions that have since proved to be false. The television quotations come courtesy of *Media Watch.*

"The only really significant question seems to be: What kind of taxes, and who will pay?"

—House Speaker Jim Wright, as quoted in the *Wall Street Journal,* January 6, 1989

"There are so many inescapable reasons why taxes will have to be raised during the Bush presidency that only a politician could say otherwise, let alone believe it."

—Jerry Knight, *Washington Post,* January 10, 1989

"I suspect down the road a piece that [a tax increase] may be part of the answer."

—House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel, as quoted in the *Washington Post,* January 2, 1989

"He's [Bush] going to have to swallow hard...and look at revenues."

—Representative Dan Rostenkowski, House Ways and Means Committee Chairman, as quoted in the *Washington Post,* December 7, 1988

"We cannot simply sidestep what is happening by resorting to the old ideologies or to new slogans. Who wants to read Bush's lips when to do so in the face of a gigantic budget deficit means the slow decline of the America we know and believe in?"

—Mortimer Zuckerman, editor-in-chief, *U.S. News & World Report,* February 6, 1989

"Many in Congress and elsewhere doubt that President Bush can deliver on his campaign promises for vastly improved quality of life programs, at the same time reducing the huge federal deficit, and stick to his no new taxes pledge."

—Dan Rather, CBS "Evening News," February 9, 1989, just hours before Bush delivered his budget address to Congress

"Stocks nosedived, in part because investors are worried that George Bush's 'no new taxes' pledge may prevent him from reducing the deficit."

—Ted Koppel, ABC "World News Tonight," November 11, 1988

"While many Wall Streeters voted for Mr. Bush, some see no way the president-elect can cut the deficit and keep some of his other election promises without a tax increase."

—Ray Brady, CBS "Evening News," November 11, 1988

"Many think taming the deficit, widely perceived as the real problem here [in the financial markets], is all but impossible without some new taxes."

—Frank Sesno, CNN "Prime News," November 17, 1988

JOHN O'BRYAN *is publisher of* The Cornell Review.

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"Already, Democratic politicians are predicting a fiscal train wreck unless Bush does something about the T-word: taxes."

—Lark McCarthy, ABC "World News Sunday," November 13, 1988

"Even though Bush insists that he won't raise taxes, more and more prominent Americans, Republicans as well as Democrats, are urging him to do just that."

—Tom Brokaw, NBC "Nightly News," November 21, 1988

"Bush gave markets another case of jitters by once again saying that he was elected with a no tax mandate, no matter what happens to the deficit."

—Andrea Mitchell, NBC "Nightly News," November 21, 1988 (that day the Dow rose three points)

"They will say: 'Begin by submitting a budget. We need a laugh and we'll get one from any budget purporting to hit the Gramm-Rudman target without new taxes.'"

—George F. Will, on how Democrats will respond to Bush's "no new taxes" pledge, in his syndicated column, November 17, 1988

"We either have to raise taxes or lie like hell."

—Representative Donald Pease, House Ways and Means Committee member, as quoted in the *Wall Street Journal*, March 10, 1989

"The experts, who are in Congress and in the Office of Management and Budget as well as outside the government, are convinced that higher taxes are unavoidable next year."

—David Rosenbaum, *New York Times*, January 26, 1989

"Faced with spending reductions of those proportions [Gramm-Rudman], it's easy to understand why so many experts insist that it will also be necessary to raise taxes."

—*New York Times* editorial, November 21, 1988

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

"There are experts who insist President Bush will find a way to do what he said he would never do: raise taxes."
—Connie Chung, NBC "Nightly News," November 12, 1988

"Don't worry about 'read my lips.' Nobody expects you to keep that pledge....The deficit, of course, is the prickliest problem—and working out a deal with Congress won't be a snap. Like it or not, taxes will have to be raised."

—Robert Kuttner, *Business Week*, November 28, 1988

"If Bush really believes he can do what has to be done without cutting into entitlements and defense and without raising at least some taxes, then he's smoking something."

—Senator J. Bennett Johnston, as quoted in *Time*, November 28, 1988

"If he [Bush] can deliver on his promises, meet unmet needs, not raise taxes and still balance the budget, he could retire as magician of the century."

—David R. Gergen and Richard S. Klein, *U.S. News & World Report*, December 12, 1988

"After months of telling us to read his lips, Bush would have to eat his words, and call for a tax hike. A bit awkward, to be sure. But in the long run this may be the only route to lasting economic health and—read our lips—reelection."

—The editors, *New Republic*, January 30, 1989

"Our national economy cannot continue to withstand massive deficits. If Congress cannot or will not control expenses, the only answer is more taxes."

—Hays T. Watkins, CEO of CSX, as quoted in *Fortune*, January 16, 1989

"They supported Bush overwhelmingly in the election, but now that he's about to become president, America's CEOs have stern talk for him about the deficit. Cut it, they say. Cut spending in all sorts of places. And forget that foolish pledge about no new taxes."

—David Kirkpatrick, *Fortune*, January 16, 1989

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Bork's Revenge

The Tempting of America: The Political Seduction of the Law, *by Robert H. Bork (New York: The Free Press/ Macmillan, $22.50).*

Reviewed by Gary L. McDowell

In June 1987, when Justice Lewis Powell announced his retirement from the Supreme Court, few doubted President Reagan was in for a fight. Powell had been the swing vote on many of the most socially divisive issues before the Court, from abortion to affirmative action to capital punishment. His seat was essential to Reagan's well-known pledge to curb the Court by appointing jurists who would not act like "a bunch of sociology majors." To make matters worse, the Senate had been reclaimed by the Democrats and the 1988 presidential sweepstakes was already heating up. No nominee was likely to have an easy time of it.

But all bets were that the nominee was not going to be just anyone: the safe money on both sides of the ideological divide was on the preeminent conservative judge of the Reagan years—Robert H. Bork. Before being put on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit by Reagan in 1982, Bork had been a professor of law at Yale, Solicitor General of the United States, and a private practitioner at one of the country's most distinguished law firms, Kirkland & Ellis. A more impressive résumé for the job of Supreme Court justice would be hard to imagine.

But there was more to Robert Bork than his employment history; there was his bibliography. Unlike many of those Reagan had elevated to the bench, Bork was not merely an instinctive, but an intellectual, conservative. He came with a well-thought-out—and widely expressed—view of the law. He was not merely a good lawyer and judge, he was a man of ideas. He stood for something. And what he stood for was anathema to the liberals who had come to think of the federal courts as their own. With Bork on the Court, they knew it would be far tougher to achieve their policy agenda by judicial decree.

For the liberals, this had to be a fight to the death. They could not afford simply to wound him, as they had Chief Justice Rehnquist in 1986. Even more than Rehnquist, Bork was a symbol they needed to destroy in order to prove that a liberal imperialistic Court is legitimate and that any other view is outside what they insist is the "mainstream."

At one level Bork's opponents won: he was denied Senate confirmation by the largest margin in history. But at a deeper level, arguably the more important level, they lost. Bork did not slink away. His ideas did not perish with his nomination. And herein lies the ultimate irony of the Bork confirmation battle. By his very loss, Robert Bork became a household word. He now holds a place in American politics that provides him a jurisprudential bully pulpit, allowing his theories to reach a far broader audience than they could ever have if Bork were sitting on the Supreme Court.

When Judge Bork stepped down from the Court of Appeals in January 1988, he did so, he wrote President Reagan, "to participate in the public debate" over constitutional interpretation. He was determined to correct the "public campaign of miseducation" that had been waged against him. But his concern was with more than his reputation; it was for the Constitution. Comes now his response to his critics—and with an intellectual vengeance.

Judicial Lawlessness

The Tempting of America is the rare book about legal matters that is written in language at once clear (there is not a shred of arcane academic jargon to mar these pages) and compelling to a wide public audience. While Bork has written a scathing indictment of "judicial lawlessness," a stinging assessment of the "deformation of constitutional government," and a melancholy appraisal of the "moral imperialism of the Supreme Court," this book is far more than any of those things simply. At its deepest level, *The Tempting of America* is about nothing less than the great cultural wars being fought for and against the democratic soul of the nation. "It is," he says, "about who we are and how we live; it is about who governs us and how, about our freedom to make our own moral choices, and about the difference that makes in our daily lives and in the lives of generations yet to come." The battle over Bork was one between the ideology of radical intellectuals and the traditional values and common sense of the American people. As Bork puts it: "The ferocity of the attack, the ideological stance of the assailants, and the tactics they used all showed that the opposition knew they were fighting over more than one judge. They were fighting for control of the legal culture."

The tack of the new constitutional revisionists, as Bork calls them, is to replace the original meaning of the actual Constitution with the ideological fashions of the day. By infusing constitutional law with so-called

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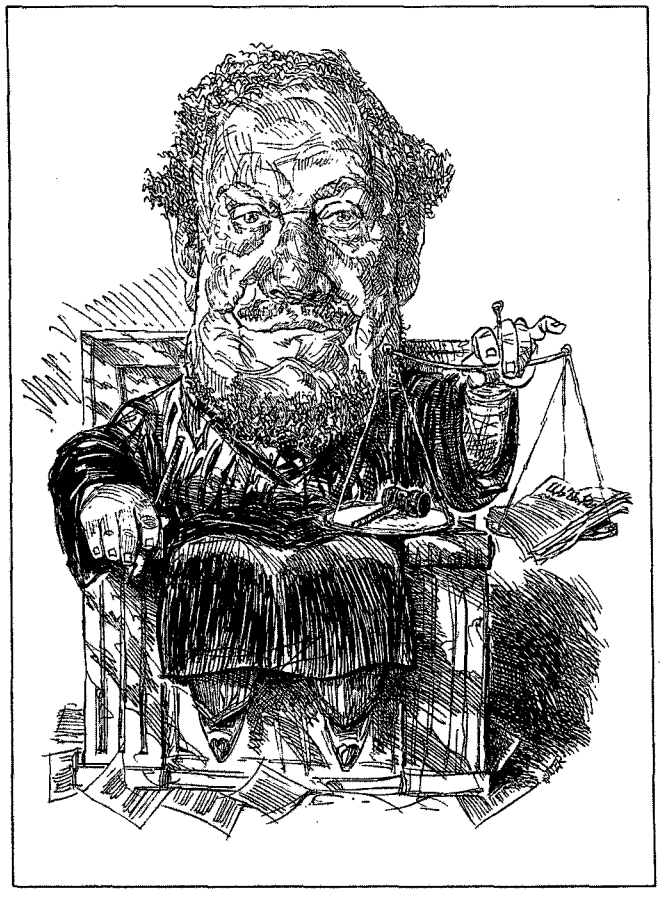
moral philosophy, the activists seek a fundamental revision of the Constitution and, thereby, the radical egalitarian revision of society as a whole.

What Bork exposes is what others such as Richard Morgan, Raoul Berger, and Walter Berns have been arguing against for years: the rise of a new constitutionalism bereft of the written Constitution. Original intention is supplanted by judicial pretension; the Constitution ceases to matter because it has ceased to exist as law.



Drawing by Alexander Hunter for *Policy Review*

Misplaced Moralism

While the main juridical sins addressed by Judge Bork are those of the liberal Left, those on the Right who are given to using the interpretive methodology of the Left to serve their own ideological ends do not escape unscathed. Thus, while such left-wing revisionists as Laurence Tribe, Ronald Dworkin, and Justice William Brennan are exposed, so, too, are revisionists on the Right—Bernard Siegan, Richard Epstein, and Justice John Marshall Harlan—excoriated. It becomes clear that Robert Bork is more than a judicial conservative; he is a true constitutionalist. In a juridical world awash with personal predilection, he seeks to reestablish the primacy of fundamental principle.

Those on the Left who would recast the Constitution in their own ideological image pose the greater threat to the American scheme of limited constitutional government. Driven by "a moralism so strong that it overcomes positive law," they tend to dress up their efforts in such glittering phrases as "human dignity," the sanctity of "personal autonomy," and, of course, simple "privacy." But the bottom line is unmistakable: the Constitution is reduced to nothing more than judicial sentiment. One of the facts kept beneath the surface during the struggle over Bork's confirmation was just how radical the Left wing has become. The strategists of the campaign against him were clever enough to engage him on a field of argument long abandoned. They wrestled him down and bound him with lines of doctrine dealing with marital privacy, poll taxes, and other old issues. They never allowed the contemporary thrust of the liberal revisionists to be exposed to public scrutiny.

But as Bork now demonstrates, the issues nearest the hearts of the liberal activists are issues likely to chill the hearts of average Americans. We are not talking about privacy as allowing contraceptive use between married couples, the issue of the *Griswold* v. *Connecticut* case that became Bork's juridical cross. Not by a long shot. We are talking about a right to privacy so complete and comprehensive as to include striking down laws prohibiting incest, drug use, and hard-core pornography. These issues are the result of the new fascination with judicial review as "moral philosophy": there is precious little, in short, Americans may do to define the moral tone of their communities.

Taking Liberties on the Right

But the Left is not alone in this effort to transform the Constitution, as Bork rather sadly points out. While the Left argues for privacy as personal autonomy, the Right argues in behalf of privacy as private property. More libertarian than conservative, this faction has become increasingly powerful in American legal circles—ironically, in large part because of the presidency of Ronald Reagan.

Two of the more influential thinkers of this school are Bernard Siegan and Richard Epstein. Siegan's *Economic Liberties and the Constitution* and Epstein's *Takings* have become near-sacred texts for libertarians. Epstein's *Takings* attempts to restore the original meaning of the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment, the provision that prohibits the federal government from taking private property for public use without just compensation. Bork points out that Epstein's effort is less a restoration than a revision of the Takings Clause; the text is stretched to prohibit all sorts of regulations—including most of the New Deal—with which Epstein disagrees politically. As Bork says, "Epstein has written a powerful work of political theory, one eminently worth reading in those terms, but has not convincingly located that political theory in the Constitution." Siegan's effort is nothing less than the resuscitation of substantive due process of the sort that was embraced by the Court in 1905 in *Lochner* v. *New York,* which declared unconstitutional a New York law regulating work hours in a bakery. Siegan's only quibble with the Court these days is that it does not go far enough; economic property rights surely deserve as much regard as the rights of personal autonomy. In Bork's view, if we accept the new substantive due process cases of *Griswold* and *Roe,* then, as a matter of principle, we must accept the older perversions such as *Lochner.* Conversely, if we reject *Lochner,* then we cannot have *Griswold* and *Roe.* Accepting all of the cases would do nothing more than establish some degree

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of intellectual integrity. But, as Bork notes, "The virtue of intellectual integrity is [not] sufficient to make a valid constitutional theory."

Justice John Marshall Harlan is the most interesting of Bork's targets for two reasons. First, Harlan's work is often used to defend judicial restraint. But, as Bork points out, in Harlan's famous dissent in *Poe* v. *Ullman* (the precursor of *Griswold*), Harlan argued for a conception of rights rooted in history and tradition rather than merely the text of the Constitution, and a common law approach to fleshing out the unwritten meaning of "liberty" in the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Bork sees this as nothing more than substantive due process cloaked in the rhetorical garb of judicial modesty. In the end, says Bork, "Harlan's methodology...turns out to offer no protection against judicial usurpation."

The second reason Bork's singling out Harlan for criticism is interesting is that Harlan's jurisprudence is still very much alive and kicking. Former Solicitor General Charles Fried, for example, was a student (and former clerk) of Harlan's common law constitutionalism. The current Solicitor General, Kenneth W. Starr, is perhaps the leading advocate of Harlan's "Burkean" approach to evolving rights. Thus, in Bork's criticism of Harlan we see more than a sifting through the ashes of courts past; we see the potential for future scuffles against the current conservative administration as well.

Judge Not

From under this pile of theorizing—by the Tribes, the Dworkins, the Siegans, the Epsteins, and the Harlans—Bork seeks to extricate the original Constitution and to reestablish it as the only legitimate point of departure for constitutional adjudication. The alternatives, he says, simply do not compare: "There is no possibility of a successful revisionist theory of constitutional adjudication in a constitutional republic." The reason, says Bork, is that "every theory not based on the original understanding...requires the judge to make a major moral decision." And that, Bork argues, is simply illegitimate—whether the decision is made by conservative judges or by liberal judges. Under such a revisionist regime, where judges are allowed to alter the Constitution by interpretation, there proves to be "no rules, only passions." But the rule of law is meant explicitly to temper the passions by the rules of reason—more precisely, the rules of legal reasoning. "Legal reasoning, which is rooted in a concern for legitimate process rather than preferred results," Bork reminds his readers, "is an instrument designed to restrict judges to their proper role in a constitutional democracy." At the deepest level, such reasoning presupposes "neutral principles" being "neutrally derived" and "neutrally applied."

Bork's idea of a philosophy of original understanding takes seriously the belief that it is "as important to freedom to confine the judiciary's power to its proper scope as it is to confine that of the president, Congress, or state and local governments." This abstract theory has profound practical consequences as well. "[T]he attempt to adhere to the principles actually laid down in the historic Constitution will mean that entire ranges of problems and issues are placed off-limits for judges. Courts will say of particular controversies that no provision of the Constitution reaches the issues presented, and the controversies are therefore not for judges to resolve."

Great Tragedy

The Tempting of America is not only an examination of the theories of original intent but also a story of wrenching human emotion—seething anger, infuriating frustrations, and deep remorse. By weaving his personal experiences into his intellectual exposition, Bork draws his readers into the thorny underbrush of modern jurisprudence; by the sheer light of his reason, he leads them out again. The only danger with this approach is that too many may be tempted to thumb ahead to the final section on the "Bloody Crossroads," that tragic point where politics and law intersected during his confirmation battle. However, it is essential not to miss a step along the intellectual road Bork has paved. From the origins of the Supreme Court through FDR and the New Deal to the rise of the Warren Court and its perpetuation through the allegedly conservative Burger and Rehnquist Courts; through the theorists, Left and Right; to the explication of "original understanding" as the only theory of constitutional adjudication compatible with the Constitution—all of it is necessary to understand not only the personal but the political tragedy that was Bork's defeat.

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LETTERS

Rod Chandler, Jack Wheeler, Amy Moritz, David A. Ridenour, Jon Basil Utley, Bernard Nietschmann, William Pierce, Eugenia Grigoris, Una McCormack, Phyllis Schlafly, Victoria R. Garnier Barshis, Ronald Preston, Frank A. Bonati, Jon R. Ryan, Walter Berns, Harry V. Jaffa, Angelo Codevilla, Irving J. Welfeld, Hugh Ragsdale, Gloria Stewart, George M. Mellinger, Larissa M. Fontana

Contras, Go Home

Dear Sir:

Few analyses of the war in Nicaragua have been as painfully insightful or desperately needed as Andy Messing and Allen Hazelwood's "A Farewell to Alms: The Contras Can Win If They Break Their Culture of Dependency" (Fall 1989). Recent events have shown that the Contras are overly dependent on U.S. aid, Honduran sanctuaries, and American advisors, both in and out of the government. In fairness to them, however, opportunities for genuine strategic and organizational reform were often undercut by the incessant effort to gain a new morsel of narrowly winnable congressional support.

Likewise, the Central Intelligence Agency, which Mr. Messing and Mr. Hazelwood fairly accuse of being "unenthusiastic about genuine guerrilla tactics," must be judged in the context of the world's first publicly debated and funded covert war. Yet many of the changes recommended by Mr. Hazelwood and Mr. Messing, such as replacing top-down command structures for guerrilla cells, may have resulted in an increase in human rights abuses and further congressional opposition. Only after several years of human rights training did Contra troops fully understand the political significance of human rights observance, both in the U.S. and Nicaragua.

For now, both the U.S. government and Nicaraguan Resistance must fully support the elections in Nicaragua, emphasizing the importance of strict monitoring. But this does not mean the Contras should give up their weapons. Instead, they should go back to Nicaragua with their arms and begin the political organizing they needed to do at least five years ago, when the first major U.S. cutoff gave them the opportunity to assert their independence. If the elections are won by the opposition, the Contras should become part of a new national, nonpolitical army. If the elections are a fraud, as many suspect they will be, the Contras' newly formed political cells will serve as foundations for interdependent but much more self-sufficient military ones. U.S. aid may come later, but ironically, only after it is not essential.

Rod Chandler
Member, U.S. House of
Representatives (R-WA)
Washington, DC

Congress Must Not Surrender

Dear Sir:

Andy Messing and Allen Hazelwood are to be congratulated for their thoughtful and forceful rejection of the myth of hopelessness surrounding resistance to Soviet colonialism in Nicaragua.

The myth of hopelessness has always been one of the most powerful factors causing Contra aid to lose in Congress. The pro-Sandinista lobby would endlessly chant their mantra, "Why support the Contras when they can't possibly win?", and many ambivalent congressmen would push the nay button.

If just six of these congressmen had pushed the yea button on February 3, 1988, and continued military aid to the Contras, we most likely would have had a free and democratic Nicaragua for some time now, with Danny Ortega and his fascist buddies cooling their heels in Havana. For several months prior to that fateful vote, the momentum on the field of battle had been turning sharply in the Contras' favor. The Sandinistas were losing morale. Protests and street demonstrations were emerging and growing in the cities, including Managua. It is quite reasonable to assume that, had the aid passed, the momentum would have continued, with the Contras marching into Managua that summer. February 3, 1988, was a tragic fork in the road of history.

Can that path now, at this late date, be retraced? Or is the Messing/Hazelwood article really just an autopsy? The answer lies within the souls of the Contras themselves. If they take the advice given in the article then, yes, they still have a chance. It will be only the most determined, the toughest 2,000 or so, who will refuse to surrender after the pre-rigged elections and will reenter Nicaragua to resume the struggle. It may take years.

By not surrendering to the myth of hopelessness and the myth of Soviet colonial invincibility, the Contras may yet prevail. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that someday, Congress will cease surrendering to these myths as well.

Jack Wheeler
Director
Freedom Research Foundation
Washington, DC

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Congress Is (Ir)Responsible

Dear Sir:

Andy Messing and Allen B. Hazelwood deserve kudos for telling us how the democratic resistance can win in Nicaragua, and do so without the crippling "help" of a fickle U.S. government. Their article is possibly the most useful bit of advice on the Contras ever to make the rounds in Washington.

One point, however: Even if a streamlined Contra force eventually dominates in Nicaragua without the (apparently dubious) benefit of significant U.S. aid, those members of Congress and the executive branch who contributed to the vacillations of U.S. policy should be held responsible for the needless misery and death those politically motivated vacillations caused.

The Central Intelligence Agency, which Mr. Messing and Mr. Hazelwood fairly accuse of being "unenthusiastic about genuine guerrilla tactics," must be judged in the context of the world's first publicly debated and funded covert war.

—Representative Rod Chandler

In December 1982, just two months after approving an estimated $19 million for the Contras, the House passed the Boland Amendment, prohibiting the CIA and Department of Defense from providing any military aid to the resistance. In October 1983, the House voted to end all covert funding to the resistance, but one month later approved a measure providing $24 million in overt assistance. In April 1984, the Senate approved $21 million in assistance, only to withdraw such aid the following June. In October 1984, the House approved $14 million in aid to the resistance to be released the following February, but then voted against releasing the aid in April 1985. In March 1986, the House voted down $100 million in aid to the resistance only to approve the same $100 million in June. In February 1988 the House voted down $36 million in aid to the resistance. This fickle behavior is responsible for needless suffering and death among the men and women who make up the resistance forces.

Amy Moritz, President
David A. Ridenour, Vice President
The National Center for Public Policy Research
Washington, DC

They Need Our Help

Dear Sir:

"A Farewell to Alms" makes many valid points. But it contains an ever-present error in American thinking, namely that revolutions can succeed without outside aid. This belief comes from childhood, when we all learned that our colonists didn't like English rule and so overthrew it. Yet even our revolution in those pre-totalitarian days would not have succeeded without French help. Almost no revolution in history except the French one ever succeeded without foreign help.

The Afghans had (albeit minimal) Pakistani help and could use Pakistan as a secure base. The Angolans had South African help and a controlled secure base. The Palestinians have Arab help and neighboring secure bases. The Communist Salvadorans get Sandinista help and have neighboring secure bases.

And then there is money. Communist guerrillas kidnap people and rob banks to raise funds. But anti-Communists are told not to do this. Then how are they to get funded? Outside aid is necessary for eventual success. The authors have a valid point—that relying on U.S. advice is hopeless. After all, U.S. policy is always to try to "buy" peace or at least negotiations. Guerrillas must use the strategies that they think right, then let their friends in the U.S. battle for funding against the leftists here. The anti-Communists may not win, but following U.S. advice is a sure road to defeat. They must lead Washington, not follow it, even without aid, as did the Afghans and Angolans for many years.

Lastly, let's please stop using the term "freedom fighters." They should be called "anti-Communist guerrillas." This term would focus American attention on who they are fighting and would absolve them from having to behave as perfect democrats. "Freedom fighters" are pure, self-sacrificing, and must never violate a human right. "Anti-Communist guerrillas" are fighting the most brutal and dirtiest dictatorships in history. Their necessary actions in civil war would then be more understandable and excusable.

Jon Basil Utley
Associate Editor
Times of the Americas
Washington, DC

Don't Forget the Indians

Dear Sir:

Andy Messing and Allen B. Hazelwood's analysis of Nicaragua's Contra forces is insightful and valuable. News of the insurgency's imminent death may be premature if, as Mr. Messing and Mr. Hazelwood suggest, it jettisons the deadweight leaders and foreign advisors and the U.S. economic nose ring, moves permanently into Nicaragua, becomes self-sustaining, and begins a politically based, scaled-down, highly focused guerrilla assault on the most despised parts of the Sandinista state. It is ironic that the Central American Peace Plan could revitalize the Contras by separating them from their counterproductive CIA advisors and forcing them to return to Nicaraguan territory where they should have been all along.

Nicaragua is the Lebanon of Central America. Sixteen different and ideologically distinct armed groups have fought the Sandinistas since 1981.

—Bernard Nietschmann

Nicaragua is the Lebanon of Central America. Sixteen different and ideologically distinct armed groups have fought the Sandinistas since 1981. Mr. Messing and Mr. Hazelwood correctly argue that this broad-based armed dissent was lost as the U.S. tried to squeeze every anti-Sandinista organization under the suffocating central command of the FDN (later RN).

Although not mentioned by Mr. Messing and Mr. Hazelwood, the In-

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dian war against the Sandinista invasion and occupation confirms their analysis. The Indian resistance was very successful, especially from 1981 to 1983. This was because the volunteer Miskito, Sumo, Rama, and Creole fighters started with broad-based civilian support, promoted the extremely popular political goal of territorial autonomy from Nicaragua, maintained a permanent decentralized command structure throughout their occupied Yapti Tasba nations (called "eastern Nicaragua" by Nicaraguans) and were widely recognized to be the best fighters—some say in all of Central America—even though but lightly armed.

These advantages began to erode in 1983 as the United States pumped in assistance that started to make the Indian guerrillas dependent upon Washington, shifted decisionmaking to opportunistic sectors of the exiled leadership, attracted many fighters to leave the guerrilla-controlled areas in the occupied Yapti Tasba nations for the new base camps in Honduras, and limited internal self-reliance on weapons and materiel. Although it provided much-needed external assistance, the CIA squandered the normal two-

If Congress had continued military aid to the Contras, we most likely would have had a free and democratic Nicaragua for some time now, with Danny Ortega and his fascist buddies cooling their heels in Havana.

—Jack Wheeler

year grace period before media and political backlash exposed and contaminated covert networks. As the once independent political-military movement began to turn inside out—from Yapti Tasba to Honduras and Costa Rica, the anti-autonomy Contras were able to more effectively block assistance from reaching the Misurasata, Misura and Kisan forces (later united as Yatama) inside. And at the same time, the Sandinistas upgraded their occupation forces with better communications, Mi-17 and Mi-24 helicopters, and "BLI" and "Cazador" anti-guerrilla units.

Several efforts were made to return the command and support structure back inside. In 1983, Bruno Gabriel, Misurasata's top military commander, bypassed the exiled leadership and organized Misurasata and Misura units and civilians throughout the entire central coast, a 100-by-40-mile high-intensity guerrilla zone. (He was killed in an October 1983 Sandinista offensive.) Panamanian internationalist Hugo Spadafora (in his fourth war) worked with Misurasata commanders to move everything inside Nicaragua and to mount a classic guerrilla campaign. (Spadafora was killed on Noriega's orders by the Panamanian Defense Forces in September 1985.) It was Spadafora who told CIA people that if they really wanted to help, here are the drop zones, all they had to do was fly low and kick the weapons out over soft landing sites and thus insure 100 percent receipt and bypass the wasteful and unproductive supply networks in Honduras and Costa Rica, where greed, bribes, and losses took 50 to 90 percent of funds and supplies. But this was too simple. It would have cut out the foreign advisors, the graft-takers, and the exile leaders.

During 1985–1987, Nicopa, a new political-military organization, worked to unite and move inside all political and military Yapti Tasba people and equipment. But Nicopa was vehemently opposed by the CIA, State Department, Contras, and exiled Misurasata, Misura, and Kisan leaders, and ultimately faded, overwhelmed by the odds.

And, like the Contras, it is ironic that regional and international repatriation programs and political accords have assisted the return of Yapti Tasba resistance leaders, fighters, and civilians who once again are in the right place.

Bernard Nietschmann
Professor of Geography
University of California, Berkeley
Berkeley, CA

Child's Needs Must Prevail

Dear Sir:

We believe Charlotte Low Allen has raised a number of critical issues that we as a society and those of us in the adoption field must address ("Special Delivery: Overcoming the Barriers to Adoption," Summer 1989). However, there are some factual errors and erroneous interpretations in the article that we believe must be addressed if we are

Members of Congress and the executive branch who contributed to the vacillations of U.S. policy should be held responsible for the needless misery and death those politically motivated vacillations caused.

—Amy Moritz and David A. Ridenour

to improve the adoption system so that the children, the pregnant women, and the adoptive families involved benefit.

Allen seems to believe that the majority of the barriers to successful adoption are created by the adoption agencies. We believe that this is the wrong starting point. The purpose of adoption is first and foremost to find families for children. The second emphasis is necessarily on serving the needs of pregnant women in crisis. Finally, adoption helps those, including infertile couples, who want to add children legally to their families. This does not mean that adoption agencies should not be responsive to the needs of infertile couples. It means that when decisions are made, the best interests of the child must prevail.

Baby Shortage

Allen states several times that agencies are biased against and will not even consider "singles, persons with disabilities, couples without a stay-at-home spouse, couples who already have children, couples who are over age 40, and sometimes even couples whose home size does not meet upper-middle-class expectations." It is true that many in these groups have a difficult time adopting. It is also true that many "ideal" couples have a difficult time adopting. The major barrier to adoption, from the couple's point of view, is a lack of babies available for adoption. It is unfortunate, but with over 1 million infertile couples and count-

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less fertile couples and singles who would like to adopt, and only 25,000 babies available for adoption each year, the majority will not be successful.

If you start from the premise that adoption is first for the benefit of children and not a "right" of prospective parents, it is easier to understand why the groups listed by Allen have a more difficult time. First, research in child development has shown that, all things being equal, children do better with two-parent families, both a mother and a father, and that babies need to have their mothers available full-time, at least during the initial months, for successful bonding. Most birth mothers don't want their child raised by a single parent and many don't want a mother who works full-time outside the home to parent her child. If they did, they would have chosen parenting themselves.

Times Have Changed

It is no longer true, in a good, ethical agency, that agencies will reject couples who do not have big houses. Agencies are looking for couples who are stable, loving, and can support the needs of a child—emotionally, physically, financially, and morally.

Neither is it true that couples who are disabled are automatically rejected by a good, ethical agency.

Those within the "women's movement" who think that they are doing women a favor by pointing the way to the abortion clinic as the only "real" choice, offer no true solution to a problem pregnancy at all.

—Eugenia Grigoris

If the disability does not interfere with parenting, many agencies will approve a couple. Agencies try to involve the birth mother in the decisionmaking process as much as possible so that she can feel she is fulfilling her parental responsibilities to plan for her child's future. Unfortunately, in practice, persons with disabilities may not be selected by birth mothers.

Allen is critical of agencies for the cost of adoption. Certainly costs are of concern to agencies and efforts are made to keep the costs down. Many agencies have a sliding fee scale according to what couples can afford. This is often particularly helpful to black parents who cannot afford the usual fee. Allen quotes a black social worker as saying there are psychological barriers for many blacks to paying a fee for adopting a child, even when they can afford it, because they associate paying the fee with slavery. As a result many agencies do not charge a fee or charge less for an adoption. Other black social workers believe this practice to be patronizing or racist because it expects less from black parents than from whites. They, and we, say black couples who are adopting should be helped to understand that the fee is not for the baby, but is reimbursement for services related to the child's birth and adoption. Society does not provide free medical, legal, and social services based on race, but on need.

Black Moms Need Equal Care

Allen states that "Homes for Black Children seems a kinder, gentler version of the public agency system, keeping expenses low by arranging to have the mother's medical fees picked up by Medicaid and sending her to public agencies or private charities for other services." One would question kinder and gentler for whom: the adoptive parents who, even if they can afford it, are not held accountable for the costs of having a child? While we commend Homes for Black Children for successfully finding homes for several hundred children a year, we believe society has a responsibility to make the adoption system equitable for blacks—black birth mothers and black adoptive parents. Black birth mothers deserve the same quality services, including individual counseling as well as group counseling, that white birth mothers receive through adoption agencies. They do not deserve to be farmed out to a variety of different agencies and charities with limited resources to offer. Why should black women who are pregnant have to settle for what is often second-rate care through the welfare system? Adoption agencies should treat black clients with the same dignity, respect, and expectation as they do white clients.

We should rectify the present ridiculous situation whereby an unwed pregnant woman can abort her baby without the father's consent, but may not give up her baby for adoption without his consent.

—Phyllis Schlafly

Another problem is the erroneous assumption of many pregnancy counselors, such as the ones quoted in Allen's article, that "only a few girls are the least bit interested" in adoption. Dr. Edmund Mech at the University of Illinois did a study for the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs that found that the majority of teens did want to discuss adoption; however, the majority of counselors assumed they did not and were themselves unfamiliar with adoption and therefore did not address it in counseling. The problem is not even so much that the counseling is "non-directive," it is that the counseling in most cases does not address adoption at all.

Maternity Homes Needed

Allen also correctly addresses the need for funding of maternity homes, which are possibly the single most effective service for making sure adoption is a viable option for a pregnant young woman. It offers her a comprehensive treatment milieu where her physical, educational, vocational, and emotional needs can be met. It also gives her the opportunity to look at her life and the mistakes she may have made, and make plans for her future. NCFA has long advocated that states replicate California's "Pregnancy Freedom of Choice Act," as discussed by Allen. However, the cost of running a maternity home is extraordinary and few agencies have the resources to provide the service.

Allen discusses the maternity homes that are run by Christians such as the Reverends Jerry Falwell and Randall Terry and the reality that many young women are intimidated by the religious overtones. While she is correct that we need more non-sectarian facilities, a "no-questions-asked" approach is not

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truly helpful to a young woman who has a crisis pregnancy. Counseling to help the young woman examine her situation, the reasons for her pregnancy, etc., is critical for the woman to make plans for her future and to grow from this experience so that she can feel good about the pregnancy, her child, and herself.

William Pierce
President
National Committee for Adoption
Washington, DC

"Women's Movement" Neglects Adoption

Dear Sir:

Charlotte Low Allen is to be commended for her timely and informative article dealing with the current state of adoption in America. Indeed, perhaps her most fundamental and important point was her insistence that the attitudes of Americans toward adoption must be drastically changed if we are to lessen the occurrence of abortion.

I know of several people who were adopted as children who thrived in their adoptive environments. Their mothers did not "abandon" them—as the anti-adoption forces would have us believe, but rather gave them to families and individuals who could raise them at a time in the mother's life when she was unable to do so herself.

Most offensive were Ms. Allen's repeated suggestions that pregnant women should be "nudged," "directed," "persuaded," and "pushed" toward adoption. Professional counseling has nothing to do with nudging, pushing, persuading, or directing.

—Victoria R. Garnier Barshis

Those who consider adoption to be beyond the realm of the possible for the woman faced with a problem pregnancy, those who consider themselves "pro-choice" (although they disdain the adoption option), and especially those within the "women's movement" who think that they are doing women a favor by pointing the way to the abortion clinic as the only "real" choice, offer no true solution to a problem pregnancy at all. With the millions of dollars spent on advertising by organizations such NOW and the National Abortion Rights Action League this past year alone, homes for unwed mothers, as well as counseling and support services to encourage adoption could have been established. This, however, is never realized by those who claim to put the welfare of both mother and child in the forefronts of their respective movements.

Eugenia Grigoris
Somerville, MA

Dear Sir:

Charlotte Low Allen is correct to point out that adoption is not viewed as a positive option by birth mothers and the general public. In order to foster a positive image of adoption, we can no longer use the terms "giving up your baby," "surrendering babies," or "relinquishing babies." Positive language is "adoption is the loving decision made by good parents in the best interest of their children."

However, Ms. Allen is wrong to state that high costs are one of the principal impediments to more widespread adoption. Except for newborns, who are very easily placed, older children are already in the foster care system through some local department of social services, and there cannot be a cost factor involved, at least not in New York City. In New York-area private agencies, it costs a minimum of $5,000 to cover medical expenses.

The article raises a valid point in discussing coverage for adoption expenses, and given President Bush's positive attitudes about it, Barbara Bush should start a national campaign to change some of the negative policies of the Internal Revenue Service. This should also include national policy requiring insurance companies to reimburse adopting couples for medical expenses.

Birth mothers will not choose single parents for their newborn children; they are choosing adoption precisely because they do not view single parenthood as appropriate for the baby.

I wholeheartedly support the adoption of children across ethnic lines provided couples are available for children who would otherwise remain in foster care.

Sr. Una McCormack
Executive Director
Catholic Home Bureau
New York, NY

Daddy Double Standard

Dear Sir:

I agree with Charlotte Low Allen that many steps need to be taken to assure that adoption is a viable alternative for pregnant women, both psychologically and financially. We should make sure that counseling of pregnant women is no longer just abortion referral, but includes complete and fair information that adoption is an honorable alternative that will enable them to give their babies the gift of life in a home with two parents who love that child very much.

We should rectify the present ridiculous situation whereby an unwed pregnant woman can abort her baby without the father's consent, but may not give up her baby for adoption without his consent.

Likewise, the mother who wants to get her problem pregnancy behind her and is generous enough to give her baby to a couple who will give her baby a loving home should have the absolute right to know that adoption is a final act that cannot be reopened. She should not be left with the threat that someday that baby can walk back into her life.

Phyllis Schlafly
President
Eagle Forum
Washington, DC

Not Enough Babies

Dear Sir:

Charlotte Low Allen's article contained misconceptions, misinformation, circular reasoning, and bias. Ms. Allen reiterated several times that there are numerous barriers to adoption, citing primarily agency-created barriers. Yet despite these many "barriers," the article states that there are 2 million couples wanting to adopt, 40 couples for every adoption. Obviously, the primary obstacle to adoption is the

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unavailability of the children that families desire to adopt, not agency restrictions. Despite this, Ms. Allen bemoans excluding single parent families, older couples, families who already have biological children, and so forth from the already overloaded pool of families competing for the limited number of "desirable" children. It appears to be Ms. Allen's contention that the pool of families competing for the scarce number of healthy infants should be doubled or tripled. She further cites barriers to adoption that have not been common for years: for example, rarely does an agency require that one parent be unemployed. She also fails to note that agency requirements apply almost unilaterally to families seeking healthy, white infants to adopt; requirements to adopt waiting children are far more flexible. As a barrier to black adoption, she states that charging any fee at all to cover the costs of medical care, legal expenses, and services to the family keeps black families from adopting; however she proposes no alternative solutions to indicate how all these expenses might be covered.

Dubious Figures

The vast majority of families are only interested in adopting healthy newborns, despite the existence in almost every state of adoption subsidies to help make the adoption of waiting children affordable for lower- and middle-income families. Ms. Allen's accusations also insult committed, but overworked social workers who are doing the best they can with inadequate funding and resources.

Returning to Ms. Allen's statistics, we find some serious difficulties. She acknowledges that her count of 2 million waiting families includes a pool of families that have waited to adopt for 7 to 10 years. She cites the figure of 1.5 million abortions a year. Should all these young women choose adoption instead of abortion, as Ms. Allen advocates, the pool of prospective adoptive parents even for healthy infants would be depleted in less than two years. What then? Even with the (much smaller) annual supply of newly infertile couples, there would suddenly be a tremendous surplus of children without families that our country would have enormous difficulty absorbing and supporting. Of course, this does not even touch on the hundreds of thousands of children that are legally free and waiting to be adopted, or who would be legally freed immediately if only families could be found.

Unprofessional Suggestions

Most offensive were Ms. Allen's repeated suggestions that pregnant women should be "nudged," "directed," "persuaded," and "pushed" toward adoption. Professional counseling has nothing to do with nudging, pushing, persuading, or directing. Indeed, I suspect that Ms. Allen herself would be up in arms if pushing or directing toward abortions were being advocated. To support her position, she quotes "counselors" who "know" (through mind reading, I suppose) that the young girls who come to them "want" to be talked out of abortion. Life might be simpler if professional counselors knew such mind-reading techniques; unfortunately, we do not. The situation was more accurately explained by Janet Smith, who stated that "Only a few girls are the least bit interested [in relinquishment]." This, rather than the existence of legalized abortion or agency barriers, is the main reason that couples wait for prolonged periods to adopt healthy infants.

Black birth mothers deserve the same quality services, including individual and group counseling, that white birth mothers receive through adoption agencies.

—William Pierce

Despite the many inaccuracies in Ms. Allen's article regarding the state of adoption today, I stand in agreement that additional federal and state resources are needed to help ensure that every waiting child is placed with a loving, permanent family. I strongly support adoption as a choice that should be available for all pregnant young women, and I agree that it should be presented as positively as other options. I draw the line at pushing, nudging, or persuading in any direction, however. I applaud organizations that offer support services to expectant parents in the manner outlined by the Nurturing Network. Such networks of true support are necessary to give women true choices about their lives.

Victoria R. Garnier Barshis
Director, Adoption Associates
Reproductive Health Services
St. Louis, MO

Attitudes Must Change

Dear Sir:

Ms. Allen's tour of adoption segues through issues until one reels. She tries to promote adoption, but her perusal paints an unpopular, factious, and sometimes corrupt institution. Although her particulars are mostly true, her portrait is not. If adoption is a swamp, what good are tax deductions, adoption counseling, or broadening the pool of adoptive parents?

Millions of American adults yearn to be parents. They endure Kafkaesque fertility treatments. They brave tortuous courses of foreign or private adoption. They queue on agency lists. Their quests often last years.

Millions of children are conceived whose parents cannot or will not raise them adequately or at all. Most of these children are aborted. Struggling or abusive parents keep most of the rest. Few children are available for adoption.

Why? For birth parents, abortion is more convenient than adoption. But convenience does not explain why so few born children are adoptable. The commonality between aborting children and keeping them is that they are kept from strangers. It seems that a woman should not bear an inconvenient child, but if she does, she must want him. To change this idea America must cherish adoption.

Adoptive parents must cease to be strangers. Media should familiarize Americans with the personalities and motivations of people wanting to adopt.

Such attention would also bring needed consideration of adoption's mechanics, which are diverse and should be controversial. Should adoption deals be struck with 15-year-olds over burgers at Mc-

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Donalds? Should babies be transferred surreptitiously in hospital parking lots? Allen raps private agencies, but they still provide the most conscientious services to birth parents, children, and adoptive parents.

Improve Infrastructure

The growth in foreign and private adoption, and most of the angst over private agencies, stem from the domestic shortage of adoptable children. If adoption were more popular here, people would not be so desperate and proper parameters for adoption would be easier to set. If adoption protocols become impeccable, adoption would be more popular.

Adoption's infrastructure needs maternity homes, counseling, training, home studies, and post-adoption services. Good adoption services are either unavailable or too expensive for most people who might adopt. Ultimately, if America wants a strong institution of adoption, the nation must supply more resources.

Congress is modestly tending this way, but is unlikely to go much further until the country values adoption more. Allen errs in repeating the current wisdom that adoption is hostage to 36,000 special-needs children who are available for adoption. "We must adopt these children first," goes the argument, "for adoption to gain acceptance." She has it backwards. If adoption were more acceptable, these children would be easier to place.

Ronald Preston
Congressional Coalition on Adoption
Washington, DC

Separate Adoption from Abortion

Dear Sir:

As the only publicly funded family planning organization in the United States that also operates a licensed adoption agency, we wanted to comment on Charlotte Low Allen's statements on non-directive counseling and the federal government's Title X family planning program. Ms. Allen says, "In practice, Title X programs have tended to be little more than abortion referral programs." This is not accurate and a gross oversimplification. Relative to the total patient population, very few women with an unintended pregnancy in a typical family clinic ever seek counseling services. Those who do request this information are given non-biased information in a non-judgmental way.

Title X family planning clinics are primarily health-care facilities. They offer a wide range of direct reproductive medical care. To state, as Ms. Allen does, that Birthright and the Christian Action Council have not been eligible for these federal funds simply because they would not offer non-directive counseling ignores the fact that they are not medical care providers. As I understand it, their work is primarily directed to women already experiencing an unintended pregnancy. The work of family planning providers concerns women who wish to maintain their health and avoid an unintended pregnancy or to help them achieve pregnancy.

I am troubled by the suggestion that family planning providers offer "directive" counseling for young pregnant women in a "non-coercive" fashion. Assuming a healthy pregnancy, we are legally and ethically bound to remain neutral and should not stress the perceived advantages of one option over another. Just as it would be unacceptable to steer someone to abortion or childbirth, it is unacceptable to steer an individual to adoption.

One of the best ways to promote adoption is to remove it as an issue in the abortion controversy. Rather than viewing adoption as an "alternative to abortion," it should be viewed as an alternative to an unintended or unwanted pregnancy. Otherwise, you reduce it, and cheapen it, to a debating point or a slogan on a bumper sticker.

Frank A. Bonati
President
Family Health Council, Inc.
Pittsburgh, PA

Abortion Less Painful

Dear Sir:

Charlotte Low Allen fails to understand that most women will choose not to become a mother (through abortion) rather than to become a childless mother (through adoption). It is simply less painful for a woman to terminate her pregnancy than to endure the lifelong emotional consequences of surrendering her baby to strangers.

Ms. Allen bemoans the fact that fathers have rights to their children. If adoptions are handled properly—with the mother and father receiving unbiased counseling, parenting options, parenting resources, and having their legal rights fully addressed before their child is even considered available for adoption—prospective adoptive parents would not live in fear of disruptions. Agencies and attorneys who give minimal services and/or circumvent the law place everyone at risk, most of all the child.

Jon R. Ryan
President
National Organization for Birthfathers and Adoption Reform
Baltimore, MD

Charlotte Low Allen responds:

William Pierce makes many salient points, several which I wholeheartedly agree with. For example, I never assert in my article that anyone has a "right" to a child, adopted or otherwise. What a moral-

Should adoption deals be struck with 15-year-olds over burgers at McDonalds? Should babies be transferred surreptitiously in hospital parking lots?
—Ronald J. Preston

ly repugnant idea. I simply aver that many current adoption practices are time-consuming, cumbersome, and unduly expensive. I agree with Mr. Pierce that there is a "seller's market" in adoption; thus, some of the barriers, such as the ban on over-40 couples that many agencies enforce, have no purpose other than to thin out the ranks of prospective "buyers." I also agree with the committee that "non-directive counseling" on the subject of adoption at a family planning center usually means an assumption by the counselor that the birth mother is not interested in adoption or that adop-

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tion will be too emotionally painful for her. And I wish, as Mr. Pierce does, that there were more state-funded maternity home programs like California's.

Blacks Should Be Encouraged

Should blacks be allowed to adopt without paying agency fees? Or is it racist to have one standard for blacks, another for whites? This is a tough question. Two facts are apparent. While blacks routinely and generously make homes for the children of their relatives and friends, they are less likely to go through formal adoption procedures than whites. Second, blacks are usually poorer than whites, and a working-class black family that might technically be able to afford a $5,000 or $10,000 agency fee might nonetheless find it a stumbling block. It is simply a statistical fact that blacks do not patronize adoption agencies as much as whites. Black children desperately need homes, however, and those who shape social policy ought to be willing to do just about anything to assure that black children end up in stable, loving ones.

Should single people get to adopt? Naturally, it's better to have two parents than one, but the single status should not be a disqualifier in itself; after all, widows and widowers have raised children since time began. It is the financial difficulty of raising a child alone that makes single motherhood so difficult, but if a woman is mature, is earning enough to make a home for a child, and has supportive family, friends, and employers, why shouldn't she?

As for many Christian maternity homes (or those operated by any religion), I have no quarrel with them, and I am certain that they provide a spirituality that is enormously comforting to many an unwed pregnant woman. But when it comes to the Bible-reading requirements, I always imagine myself at age 19 and how I would have turned my nose up at such rules, quite immaturely to be sure.

To Ms. Grigoris, I say Amen. Another Amen to Sister McCormack, with two provisos: $5,000 is probably a reasonable amount these days to cover the medical expenses of childbirth, but it's still a lot of money. That is why, as she points out, insurance companies ought to cover childbirth expenses if the child is adopted instead of born into the family. The government should use its powers of suasion and financial enticement to bring this about. The other proviso is covered in my remarks above on single-parent adoption. Amen to Mrs. Schlafly, except that men who acknowledge their paternity in a timely fashion should get to raise their offspring.

Blue-Chip Babies

Ms. Barshis of Reproductive Health Services indulges several canards about adoption, the chief of which is that adoptive parents are interested only in healthy white infants. That is why black women facing crisis pregnancies are routinely told that no one will want their babies. It is certainly true that there are lawyers and physicians who make tidy livings from finding blue-chip, blue-eyed white babies for a picky yuppie adoption market. But there are plenty of people willing to take just about anyone of whatever race, age, or health. That is why, as my article pointed out, there are only 36,000 children in the entire country who cannot find adoptive homes. A variety of social and economic factors combine to ensure that many minority children never get considered for adoption and that many prospective adoptive parents of all races never get to adopt. Who should pay the medical and other expenses connected with giving birth to a poor child? The answer is easy: we who are richer should.

Mr. Preston of the Congressional Coalition on Adoption says we should not hold adoption hostage to 36,000 special-needs children who should be given homes first. My point is that even those 36,000 could find homes easily if we gave their cause a well-publicized push.

Mr. Ryan of the National Association for Birthfathers and Adoption Reform asserts that, while a man becomes a father at the moment of conception, a woman does not become a mother unless and until she decides not to "terminate her pregnancy." I am all for fathers' rights to raise their out-of-wedlock children, but they ought to be given a reasonable time in which to assert those rights. Adoptive parents should not have to shoulder the burden of tracking down the signature of a man who has shown no interest in a child and whose identity may be unknown to them.

It is simply less painful for a woman to terminate her pregnancy than to endure the lifelong emotional consequences of surrendering one's baby to strangers.

—Jon R. Ryan

Why We Had No Terror

Dear Sir:

Professor Hancock is altogether justified in saying that the Terror was embodied in the very principles of the French Revolution ("Robespierre and the Rights of Man: The Terror of 1793 Sprang from the Theories of 1789," Summer 1989).

We, too, began with an appeal to Nature and, within a few years, instituted a government to secure the rights of nature, so why no Terror in America? What accounts for our success? Tocqueville attributes this, in part, to the fact that we attained democracy without suffering a democratic revolution and "were born equal without having to become so." In short, unlike in France, no class struggle. And, again unlike the French and as Tocqueville noted, we did not declare war on religion; we consigned it to the private realm, but we did not attempt to obliterate every vestige of it from our public documents and our memories. On the contrary, whereas the French revised the calendar, beginning time with the year of the first and replacing the seven-day week of the Bible with "decades" of 10 days each, our Constitution was (in the words of Article VII) subscribed to by the Framers on "the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Seven." (And note Article I, section 7, clause 2: "If any Bill shall not be returned by the President

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Chattel slavery was as great a denial of the God-given rights of man as anything that happened under the *ancien regime* or under Robespierre or Napoleon.
—Harry V. Jaffa

within 10 days [Sundays excepted]...." There were no Sundays in revolutionary France. In fact, there were no holidays, or holy days; instead, there were festivals dedicated to "virtue," "genius," "labor," "opinion," "rewards," and, in leap years, a Festival of the Revolution.)

It is also important to note that "we the [sovereign] people" expressed our will in a Constitution that emphasized what has been called "civil liberty" rather than "public liberty," liberty in the sense of being left alone by government rather than liberty in the sense of participating in the formation of a General Will. In other words, we chose liberal democracy rather than the participatory democracy favored by Robespierre and, in our own time, by our '60s radicals.

Walter Berns
Georgetown University
Washington, DC

America Subordinated Slaves' Rights

Dear Sir:

Mr. Hancock's development of his thesis is accurate, brilliant, and profound. I would add, however, that the American separation of church and state, an innovation unprecedented in human history, was an indispensable element in the American achievement. By emancipating politics from sectarian controversy, it enlisted revealed religion in support of the regime of the rights of man. Because human rights were the rights with which all men had been equally "endowed by their Creator," in America, respect for the rights of other human beings became part of man's duty to God.

Mr. Hancock has, however, overlooked one vital element in the comparison of the American and French revolutions. Chattel slavery was as great a denial of the God-given rights of man as anything that happened under the *ancien regime* or under Robespierre or Napoleon. The American Revolution cannot be said to have been complete before the violated rights of the slaves had been vindicated in blood, and there had been "a new birth of freedom." The sacrifices exacted by the American Revolution were not less than those in France.

Mr. Hancock correctly attributes the core of the differences between the American Declaration of 1776 and the French Declaration of 1789 to the transformation of the idea of human rights brought about by Rousseau. He writes:

> In order to liberate mankind from tradition, the revolutionaries were ready to make him altogether the creature of a new society, to reconstruct his very humanity to meet the demands of the General Will.

In the light of the Declaration of Independence, the American Founding Fathers had looked upon slavery as a necessary evil, entailed upon them by their colonial past. It was an evil to be eliminated over a period of time. The Civil War came about because slavery was transformed in the mind of the South from a necessary evil into a "positive good," something to be defended, perpetuated, and extended.

Calhoun and Marx

This transformation was above all the work of John C. Calhoun, the Father of the Confederacy. The preamble to all of Calhoun's work is his denunciation of the doctrine of equal natural rights in the Declaration of Independence. For Calhoun, the idea of state rights and state sovereignty is severed from the idea of natural rights and human equality. Sovereignty becomes a matter of will—not of reason—and there is no restraint upon any collective will except that of countervailing wills, either within it or outside it. Calhoun recognizes no transcendent standard of right accessible to human reason, other than what emerges from the conflict of wills. In the end, force decides what is right, and those without force—slaves, or anyone else who is disenfranchised—are without rights. Calhoun's doctrine of the "concurrent majority" is, however, no more than a convenient adaptation of Rousseau's General Will.

In his subordination of individual rights to collective rights—which he called state rights—Calhoun is a true Jacobin. So also was that other heir of Robespierre, Karl Marx. It is worth remembering that Calhoun and Marx were contemporaries, and the *Disquisition on Government* (1850) and the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) were composed at about the same time. It is also worth remembering that the antebellum attack on the "crass commercialism" of free society inspired by Calhoun and the attack on capitalism inspired by Marx were nearly identical. Conversely, the defense of slave society and the defense of communism—that they provided genuine "community" along with cradle to grave security—were very nearly the same. The late Richard Hofstadter called Calhoun "the Marx of the master class." He may as well have called Marx "the Calhoun of Communism." The end result in both cases is a despotic elite denying the rights of others. The theoretical ground of both is also the same: the denial of the equal rights of individual human beings, under "the laws of nature and of nature's God."

The history of Western politics is largely that of the tension between the demands of power and those of "Nature and Nature's God."
—Angelo Codevilla

Harry V. Jaffa
Claremont McKenna College
Claremont, CA

"Nature and God" Supreme

Dear Sir:

Some 20 years ago, I had the privilege of studying modern political ideologies under Gerhart Niemeyer at Notre Dame, and then, at Claremont, of studying the Natural Right tradition and American political thought under Leo Strauss, Harry Jaffa, and Martin Diamond. I have never seen the les-

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sons of those studies summarized more concisely than in Ralph Hancock's "Robespierre and the Rights of Man." This article deserves to be read by every student of politics, history, and law. It should be regarded as fundamental.

Mr. Hancock's central point that human freedom consists of the recognition that we are not bound to obey the commands of men insofar as those commands contradict "the laws of Nature and Nature's God," is the point that both Jesus and Socrates made at their trials. It is the basis of our civilization.

The history of Western politics is largely that of the tension between the demands of power and those of "Nature and Nature's God." The writings of the American Founding Fathers, of Abraham Lincoln, much of the history of U.S. constitutional law, and, just as important, much of the "stump rhetoric" of American politics, represent some of mankind's best attempts to reconcile these two sets of demands.

But the French and Russian revolutions, to name but two, are variants of the Western tradition in which freedom means quite simply the power to do what one wishes. The free man is the one who can manage to bend and use others to his will. At best this is the tradition of Ted Bundy, who, before raping and killing his victims, explained to them that he was expressing his absolute freedom. At worst, in public life, it is the tradition of Caligula, for whom the Empire was but a means to feed his carnal appetites, and of Robespierre, Stalin, Hitler, *et al.*, who managed to get the freedom to play with millions of lives.

Ideas have consequences because they draw men along the paths of their logic.

Angelo Codevilla
Hoover Institution
Stanford, CA

The answer to the housing problem lies in subsidies for the poor and, whether we like it or not, it becomes a job for the government.

—Irving J. Welfeld

Not Arteriosclerosis But Hypertension

Dear Sir:

In "Home Economics: The Housing Crisis that Overregulation Built" (Fall 1989), William Tucker has many fine paragraphs taking potshots at the shipload of foolish regulations that have messed up many a housing market—most notably rent control in New York City. He is right. The housing market is not inherently flawed. He is wrong, however, when he gets to the "therefore."

> [I]t emerges that the market could provide housing for all income levels but is prevented from doing so by government intervention....The solution does not lie in Washington. It lies in restoring property rights to landlords and developers and allowing the housing market to function.

The diagnosis of the crisis—that the hardening of the arteries of the housing circulation system as a result of regulations has not allowed low-cost housing to filter down to the poor—is wrong. The problem at the low end of the market is that the blood pressure—the income of the poor—requires the poor to carry an extraordinary rent burden to keep the housing from filtering out of the market.

It is not a question of restoring property rights. It is a question of restoring rent rolls. Rent regulation is irrelevant. When 25 percent of all renters in New York City are paying 50 percent of their income for rent and their rent just covers operating expense, the landlord is required to carry out the garbage in order to keep the housing in the market. The renters in the South Bronx and East Harlem have the highest rent-to-income ratios and the lowest rents.

The Post-Marital Age

The rental market is just doing fine for the average household. The household with a median income need pay only a small portion of its income for housing—approximately 20 percent. The problem is that the average household has been disappearing. The rising rent burden is due in small part to improved housing and in large part to the changing composition of renter household. We are living in a post-marital age. In the '50s, 7 out of 10 renters were married; in the '80s, it is down to 1 out of 3. The market is dominated by the divorced, the elderly, and singles. The number of single-parent families has increased from 13 percent of renters in 1970 to 27 percent today. In 1950, 1 out of 8 renters lived alone. In the 1980s, it was 1 out of 3.

The solution to the problem, barring a social and cultural counter-revolution, will not be brought about by unshackling landlords so that they will be more efficient or by volunteer efforts by former presidents. The answer lies in subsidies for the poor and, whether we like it or not, it becomes a job for the government.

Irving J. Welfeld
Policy Analyst
Department of Housing and Urban Development
Washington, DC

(The author's views do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.)

William Tucker responds:

I don't entirely disagree with Irving Welfeld's criticism of my article, but I do disagree enough to want to argue several points.

I am inherently suspicious of any arguments that say that capitalism can deliver the goods—it's just that some people can't afford them. If you believe in markets, you have to believe that a free economy can always provide people with something they want, particularly something as essential as housing. It may not be the kind of housing you and I would want. It may be nothing more than a tarpaper shack, or a trailer in a mobile-home park, or a furnished room with a hot plate and a shared bathroom down the hall. But everyone with a little bit of income (even from social services) would obviously prefer this to living in the street or in a homeless shelter.

The contemporary difficulty is that reform and regulation have created a threshold below which it is illegal to provide goods and services. Zoning laws have created min-

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imum lot sizes and outlawed trailer parks. Rentals are often forbidden in suburban communities. Housing codes require that every apartment have a full bathroom and full kitchen, even when the prospective occupants cannot afford it. Municipal governments think they are providing "decent housing" when they adopt these codes, yet they are actually creating a threshold below which the poor cannot buy anything with their limited resources. Instead of poor housing, people get no housing. (All this, of course, ignores the more likely motive that municipalities adopt housing regulations because they do not want poor people living in their communities at all.)

Russia has never been any sort of democracy, Jeffersonian or otherwise. It has always been the land of the tyrant and the serf.
—Gloria Stewart

Thus, while I do not dispute that a certain sector of the population—single mothers in particular—is getting poorer, I don't think poverty dooms these people to be without shelter. Poorly housed, perhaps; homeless, no.

In addition, I think Mr. Welfeld, like so many others, is underestimating the effect that rent control is having in making housing more expensive for the poor. It may be true that nearly 25 percent of New Yorkers are paying more than 50 percent of their income for rent (the Arthur D. Little Company gives a figure of 17 percent), but that is not necessarily the result of worsening poverty.

Clear Away the Underbrush

In its remarkable study, "Housing Gridlock in New York," the Arthur D. Little Company found the biggest effect of rent control to be a remarkable mismatching of incomes with rents. While 50 percent of the people in poverty pay more than 50 percent of their income in rent, 87 percent of people with incomes of over $60,000 pay less than 20 percent and *41 percent pay less than 11 percent.* In fact, Arthur D. Little found that if current rents were simply rearranged to match current incomes in New York—the wealthiest people paying the highest rents and the poorest paying the lowest rents—*no one* would pay less than 11 percent of income in rent and only 1.4 percent of the population would be paying more than 50 percent.

Just as everyone seriously underestimated how much oil price controls were raising the price of oil during the energy crisis of the 1970s, we are currently underestimating how much rent controls are pushing rents up for the poor, who are the least likely to end up with long-term rent-controlled apartments.

Once housing regulations are cleared away, I would have no problems with a policy for providing housing vouchers for the poorest of the poor, who are unable to afford any kind of accommodation in any other way. But let's clear away the regulatory underbrush first and see what the markets can provide. Then we can think about supplementing incomes.

Russia Was Never Part of the West

Dear Sir:

As a student of Russian history, I was not a little astonished at William Lind's "Western Reunion: Our Coming Alliance with Russia" (Summer 1989). Mr. Lind makes the point that the Russians were part of Western civilization until the coming of Marxism. My understanding of the matter is that Marxism in Russia is an import item, the brainchild of German philosophy conceived in the British Museum. The ardent Russian nationalists of the Soviet Union today are repudiating the Revolution of 1917 not only because it has ravaged traditional—that is, agrarian—Russia, but also precisely because it was a visitor from the West.

As for alliance with the West, the 19th-century intelligentsia were no more well disposed to the European bourgeoisie than were Lenin and his ideologues. The poet Tiutchev summed up their attitudes typically: "The only natural policy of Russia toward the West must not be an alliance with one or the other of these powers, but their disunion and division, because only when they are divided among themselves, they are not hostile to us—never of course out of conviction but out of impotence." To see a spirit friendly to the West in the personalities of Dostoyevsky and Solzhenitsyn, as Mr. Lind does, is to ignore what they themselves have said about the issue.

It is indisputable that the Russians are ethnically and linguistically Indo-European, but their attitudes toward many political, social, and economic issues are altogether different from those of the West. Societies that were never Latin and Catholic neither had nor have humanist values of the kind familiar in the West. In any event, the Russians do not think of themselves as European. Both the 19th-century intelligentsia of the great Russian novels and the contemporary intelligentsia of Soviet Russia explain their plans to travel to the West by saying that they are "going to Europe." If they must leave their country to go there, then that is not where they are when they are at home.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about Mr. Lind's article is the curious way in which his interpretation of the Russian past exemplifies the ideas of the organization that he represents, the Center for Cultural Conservatism. Is it culturally conservative to imagine that the basic nature of Russia underwent a total metamorphosis in October 1917, having been Western, then becoming overnight un-Western? And that four years of Gorbachev are making it into something like us again?

Hugh Ragsdale
Department of History
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, AL

Communism's True Face

Dear Sir:

Has *Policy Review* given over its pages to Tolkien-like fantasies on foreign policy? While Mr. Lind has the right to exercise his imagination while speculating on the future, he has no right to alter the present and the past to fit his thesis.

First Mr. Lind claims the Russian Orthodox Church is "very strongly

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anti-Communist." It is nothing of the sort. It is a completely subservient agent of the state. Beginning in the 1950s with the defections of Peter Deriabin and Alexander Sakharov and their testimonies before Congress, the linkage between the KGB and the Church hierarchy has been a matter of record. A growing body of documentation is available in the public domain to substantiate this. There are no doubt anti-Communists in the priesthood and among the worshippers, but the Moscow Patriarchate, which defines and governs the church, is an arm of the state.

Next Mr. Lind speaks of Russia's place in the history of the West. While he concedes that Russia was never a "Jeffersonian democracy," he asserts that it was always a part of Western culture. Russia has never been any sort of democracy, Jeffersonian or otherwise. It has always been the land of the tyrant and the serf. Never have there been institutions in place that could form the infrastructure of even the most rudimentary democracy. Some tyrants have found it expedient to loosen the noose somewhat, but it has never been long before it was tightened again. Two of the most liberating events in the history of the West, the Renaissance and the Reformation, never affected Russia.

Mr. Lind cautions against the breakup of the Russian empire into mini-states. Thus, he gives legitimacy to the hegemony of the USSR over its captive nations and disparate "republics." Is self-determination only for the West? Should we be grateful to the USSR for sparing us the various petty clashes and border disputes that may have come to pass in a Balkanized Eastern Europe? This stability has been purchased at the cost of 95 million lives. Ask the Czechs and the Hungarians if they would trade their Russian yokes for a chance of becoming "pawns in the battle between the West and the non-West."

Lenin's Legacy

When Mr. Lind asks us to help Mikhail Gorbachev, he is falling into a familiar Soviet trap. He is accepting the myth that there are good guys and bad guys in the government of the USSR, and that we must make concessions to the former—even against our own self interest—in order to avoid a government of the latter. The differences among Soviet leaders are over tactics, not strategy. Mr. Gorbachev is remarkably like every Soviet leader before him. He wishes to build Communism with transfusions from the West. He is following Lenin's advice that it is sometimes necessary for a Communist government to take one step backward in order to be able to pounce two steps forward at a later date.

Mr. Lind ought to recognize that modern Russian groups such as *Pamyat* and the *Liubertsy* are as hostile to the West as they are to the Communist Party.
—George M. Mellinger

Mr. Lind has pointed out legitimate problems when he speaks of the Moslem unrest and the "native fascisms" of Latin America. He does not mention the role the USSR is playing in fomenting and supporting many of the groups involved in the aforementioned movements.

Faced with surrender or destruction, whichever one we choose, freedom dies, for we orphan the world with our demise. What then? We have seen Communism at its best under glasnost and perestroika, as we have at other times in the past when the USSR has needed the West to ensure its survival. We have never seen Communism at its worst, because the Free World has always provided a mitigating presence. Tiananmen Square, not perestroika, is the true face of Communism!

Gloria Stewart
Thousand Oaks, CA

Schism Still Relevant

Dear Sir:

Mr. Lind's vision of future American relations with a post-Communist Russia is highly appealing, but his attenuated knowledge of Russian history has led him to a conclusion that is highly dubious. He argues that Russia has been traditionally a part of the great Western tradition, identified with Christendom, from which it was diverted only in 1917 by Comrades Lenin and Stalin. Such a view is possible only to someone whose knowledge of politics begins with our own century.

A cynic might respond that Russia has never been more a part of the Western tradition than during these past 72 years. After all, Marx and Engels were Western Europeans, and their theories, and Lenin's emendations, are clearly within the Western secular tradition of utopian reform and social engineering. The roots go back to the Enlightenment, and the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror. One of the major lines of Russian anti-Communism is based on this very point, and calls for Russia to abandon secular, Western ideologies (of all sorts) and to return to its traditional non-Western roots.

Contrary to Mr. Lind's presumption, Russia has not been a part of Western Christendom—at least not for a very long time, the last century notwithstanding. It is true that Rus' (as Russia was known in the 10th century) became part of Christendom. In fact, the cities of Kiev and Novgorod may generally be characterized as having a more advanced level of culture and a more humane personal outlook than contemporaneous Western Europe.

However, Russia received Christianity from the Patriarch of Constantinople, and in 1054 the Great Schism split the Church into Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, dividing all Christendom into two mutually hostile camps. In 1204, during the Fourth Crusade, Constantinople was sacked by the Catholics, who had supposedly come to fight the mutual Turkish foe, thus deepening the hostility of the Orthodox. Perhaps Mr. Lind, like many other secular, modern Westerners, does not consider this bit of ancient history still relevant, but Orthodox believers still regard the Schism as if it happened yesterday.

The Anti-Western Tradition

Even during the late 19th century, the period seemingly uppermost in Mr. Lind's mind, Russia's participation in "Western civilization" was problematic. Only the 10 percent or so of the population comprising the urban middle and upper

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To see a spirit friendly to the West in the personalities of Dostoyevsky and Solzhenitsyn, as Mr. Lind does, is to ignore what they themselves have said about the question.

—Hugh Ragsdale

classes was westernized, not the great mass of peasantry and serfs. And most of these cultural elites were superficially educated and cultured. Mr. Lind should reflect less upon the few genuinely cultured great authors, and pay more attention to the more representative petty gentry they portrayed in their works.

It is particularly ironic that Mr. Lind invokes Dostoyevsky as a representative of Russia's Western heritage. Although his novels have become part of the Western tradition, Dostoyevsky himself was violently anti-Western, an advocate of militant Orthodox messianism. Much of his opposition to the revolutionary socialists and nihilists of his day was due to his perception of these ideas as contaminants of Western skepticism, secularism, and materialism.

Mr. Lind ought to recognize that modern Russian groups such as *Pamyat* and the *Liubertsy* are as hostile to the West as they are to the Communist Party. In fact, many of them reconcile themselves to Communism as a native Russian expression, which is anti-Western. Such groups are at least as authentic an expression of traditional Russia as the Social Democrats and Liberals so beloved of Western optimists. And they are at least as likely to be the successful heirs to any post-Communist Russian future.

George M. Mellinger
Ph.D. candidate in Russian History
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN

Russia Must Earn Western Trust

Dear Sir:

Mr. Lind's claim that "Russia suffered the most severe damage" during the wars of this century is interesting indeed. During the violent wars of this century, Czarist Russia and now Communist Russia managed to subjugate their neighbors, destroy their languages and cultures, and dictate that God must be prayed to in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

While the Russian people were also abused by their leaders, at least their language was official, their culture was dominant, and the Russian Orthodox Church was always legal. All of these phenomena were in turn used to Russify and denationalize other non-Russian nations—with tacit Russian consent.

The very notion that Russia can be perceived as a potential ally must be predicated on the premise that all non-Russian nations within the USSR have a right to their independence. However, this is often not accepted among much of the Russian intelligentsia. When it comes to the independence of Byelorussia and the Ukraine, there is consternation even among the dissidents. In the West, there is sometimes outright opposition to the independence of Byelorussia and the Ukraine.

It is highly premature and most presumptuous to ignore the tragic relations that Russia has had with its neighbors and grant it the title of a "Western" nation. To bear this title, Russia must first prove that she has matured to the level of becoming a good neighbor, and recede to her ethnographic borders to develop her own resources.

Larissa M. Fontana
Potomac, MD

William Lind responds:

The letters in response to my article offer two main criticisms. The first, that historically, Russia is not Western, is principally a question of definition and of historical perspective on definition. I am of course aware of the long contest in Russian history between Slavophiles and Westernizers, and of the even longer division between Eastern and Western Christianity. However, at least for the past century or so, this division has itself been anchored in the context of worldwide Western domination. That context permitted "Western" to be defined as the liberal, secular, humanist tradition arising out of the Enlightenment.

My point is that with the rise of religions and cultures that are historically completely separate from the West, such as Islam, "Western" must be defined more broadly. In that broader context, perhaps best summed up as "Christendom," the Russia both Slavophiles and Westernizers envision is Western. Even more broadly, the liberal West, as represented by the United States, and traditional, pre-revolutionary Russia, as now perhaps best represented by Solzhenitsyn, are at opposite ends of the Western spectrum, but they are still on the same spectrum. In the face of the rise of non-Western and sometimes anti-Western entities and forces, what we share becomes more important than what divides us.

Balkanization A Serious Threat

Those who refuse to see this commonality risk repeating the tragedy of 1054 and the splitting of the West in the face of anti-Western threats. Russia suffered most from that split, under the Tartar yoke. This time, if we fail to define the West broadly enough, we all may suffer severely.

The second criticism is that support for the maintenance of the Russian empire means oppression of the non-Russian minorities in that empire. As I indicated in my article, it will undoubtedly be difficult to find a way to maintain the empire while allowing those minorities the full cultural and economic freedom they unquestionably deserve. But I would again caution against trivializing the strategic consequences of a breakup of the empire, as Mrs. Stewart does in her reference to "various petty clashes and border disputes that might have come to pass in a Balkanized Eastern Europe." Let us remember what such "petty clashes" in the Balkans brought the West in 1914. Massive instability throughout the West's whole right flank is not a minor concern, particularly as non-Western forces gather strength along that flank.

Learning to think in terms of the West as a whole, a West that includes Russia, will be difficult for many, as these letters indicate. But the need to do so is real and urgent.

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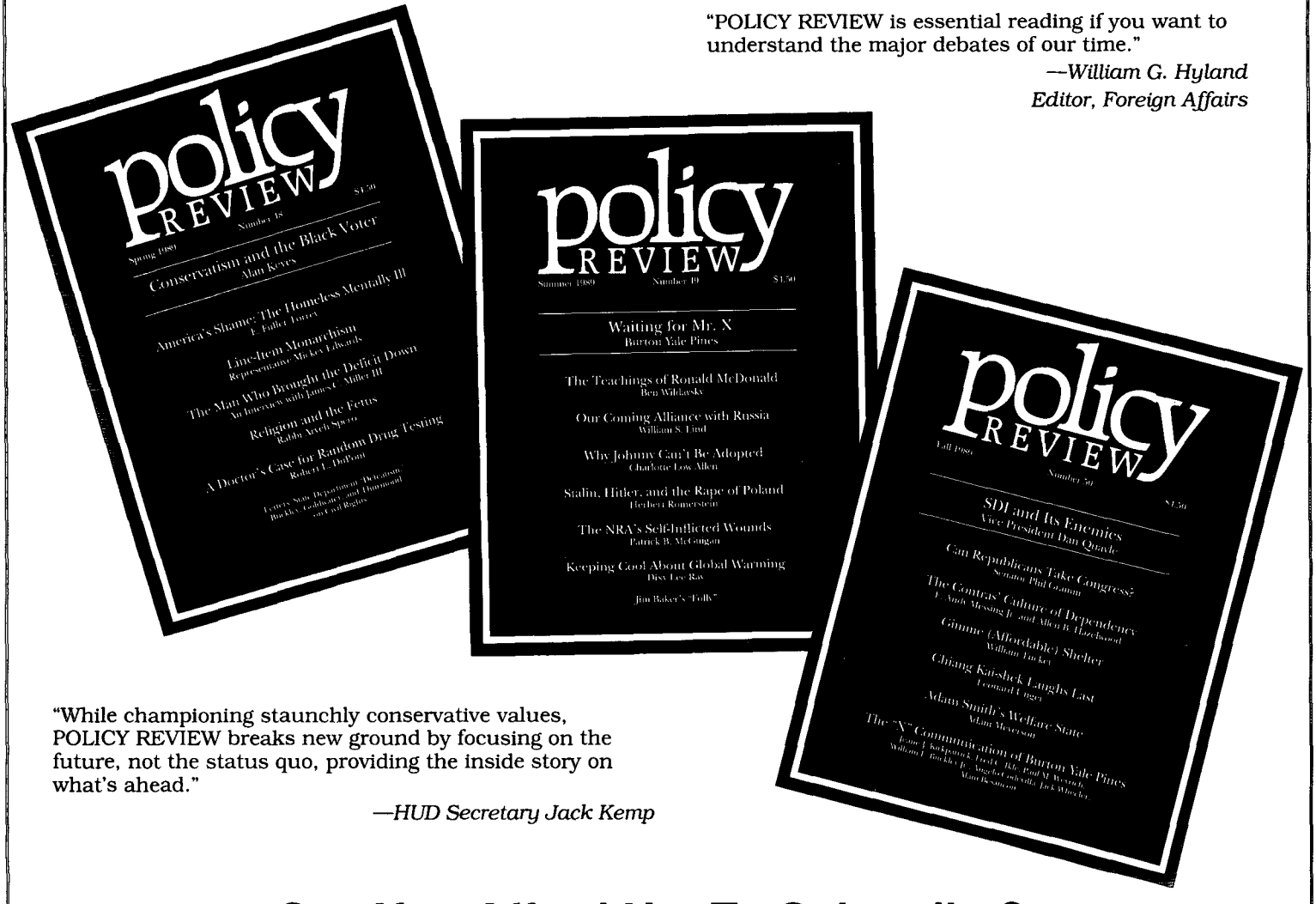

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Under the current farm law, the Department of Agriculture has paid dairy farmers to kill 1.6 million cows. Its regulations have led to the squandering of 3 billion oranges and 2 billion lemons. It has rewarded crop farmers for leaving idle 61 million acres of farmland—an area equal to all the territory of Ohio and Indiana, and half of Illinois. For these dubious contributions to American competitiveness, the USDA has charged taxpayers about $20 billion a year and forced consumers to pay $10 billion a year in higher food costs.

Representative Dick Armey
Moscow on the Mississippi: America's Soviet-Style Farm Policy

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